



940.55

91

**SOME EARLY TRACTS ON
POOR RELIEF**

SOME EARLY TRACTS ON POOR RELIEF

EDITED BY

F. R. SALTER, M.A.

FELLOW AND LECTURER OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

WITH A PREFACE BY THE RIGHT HON.

SIDNEY WEBB

M.P., LL.B.



METHUEN & CO. LTD.
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.
LONDON

First Published in 1926

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE BY THE RIGHT HON. SIDNEY WEBB	vii
AUTHOR'S NOTE	xiii
GENERAL INTRODUCTION	xv
I. VIVES' <i>DE SUBVENTIONE PAUPERUM</i>	i
II. THE YPRES <i>FORMA SUBVENTIONIS</i>	32
III. LUTHER'S <i>ORDINANCE FOR A COMMON CHEST</i>	80
IV. ZWINGLI'S <i>ORDINANCE AND ARTICLES TOUCHING ALMSGIVING</i>	97
V. <i>LES PAUVRES DE ROUEN</i>	104
VI. THE ENGLISH LEGISLATION OF 1531 AND 1536	120

TO
GRAHAM WALLAS

PREFACE

THIS is a timely and an instructive book, none the worse for its simple form and modest claims. Mr. Salter has done a useful service in translating and annotating some interesting documents which deserve the attention of every one dealing with social history.

The origin and early development of a public provision for destitution have been too little studied in England. Of the thousands of books and pamphlets of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in which the English Poor Law was described and criticised, I remember hardly any that gave a thought to what was happening in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Even writers with some sense of history have contented themselves, like William Cobbett, with ascribing the Elizabethan legislation to a tardy realisation of the consequences of Henry the Eighth's spoliation of the monasteries. Victorian England, complacently believing its Poor Law to be unique, was generally satisfied to regard its enactment as accounted for by the Protestant Reformation, without remembering that the Protestant Reformation was itself not merely an insular phenomenon. Not until the last decade of the nineteenth century was it forced on the attention of English readers (and then by Professor, now Sir William, Ashley) that all the nations of Western Europe, including those in which the Protestant Reformation did not prevail, had created their own systems of public provision for the destitute. And since Sir William Ashley's lucid chapter on "The Relief of the Poor" in his *Economic History* (1893), with its emphatic declaration (p. 350) that

viii SOME EARLY TRACTS ON POOR RELIEF

"the Poor Law of Elizabeth was but the English phase of a general European movement of reform: it was not called for by anything peculiar to England either in its economic development up to the middle of the sixteenth century, or in its ecclesiastical history," there has been the very smallest effort to consider the bearing on English development of the work of Juan Luis Vives, whose instructive letter to "the Consuls and Senate of Bruges," Mr. Salter now gives us in English dress. Not even the stimulus and encouragement that Dr. Cunningham brought to English study of social and economic history has placed within the reach of English students the erudition of Ratzinger and Emminghaus, Franz Ehrle and Gerhard Uhlhorn. We still fail to realise the extent to which the England of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and at least the earlier part of the sixteenth, was one in thought—at first through the Holy Catholic Church, the religious orders and the universities, and afterwards through the Protestant Reformers of Germany and Switzerland, the Low Countries and France—with the intellectual development and the current controversies of Western Europe.

Nor have we yet brought our own contribution to the European story. It has been one of the shortcomings of English Poor Law history that it has been too narrowly confined to the legislation of the national government. Both before and after these Acts of Parliament, the administration of the thousands of Local Authorities is not less important than the legislation. When it was realised, in one place after another, that the sporadic almsgiving of priest and layman, and the occasional endowment of hospitals and other foundations, neither provided adequately for "the impotent poor" nor prevented the evils of vagrancy, it was the Local Authorities of parish and borough, in England as in continental Europe, that led the way to more systematic provision. This lends a special interest to what Mr. Salter brings before us, with regard to the activities in connection with the poor of the Local Authorities of Bruges and Ypres, of Rouen, Lyons

and Paris, as of other local bodies in France, Germany and the Netherlands. It is clear, as his comments suggest, that like influences were at work on borough and parish in our own country. We still await a systematic exploration of the surviving records of these localised public activities in the England of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—of the gilds and fraternities in the rural parishes, possibly more largely eleemosynary in their activities than the merchant and craft gilds of the towns; of the “church ales” at Whitsuntide and other festivals, and the “hobbyhorse gatherings” at Christmas, by which funds were raised in the “church house,” “to which belonged spits, crocks, etc., and utensils for dressing provisions,” and which Brand tells us were to be found in every parish; or of the administration by the parish wardens of the equally common “church stocks,” of sheep, as at Pitlington in Durham, and of cows elsewhere. “There were in some towns[hips],” we read in a sermon of 1550, “six, some eight, and some a dozen kine, given unto a stock for the relief of the poor.” In the typical rural parish of a few score families, such a “stock” may well have been much more nearly adequate to the need than appears to-day. But it was, of course, in the cities and towns that the most extensive provision was made for the poor, as part of the ordinary work of the Municipal Corporation. Apart from municipal administration of hospitals for the aged, and of bequests for the periodical distribution of alms, we see in the fifteenth century the corporations of London and Norwich, Southampton and Lydd, Exeter and Romney, Chester and Rye, Hereford and Sandwich—and these, as Mrs. J. R. Green has reminded us, were typical of many others, if not of all—establishing a town stock of wheat or rye, for sale at low prices in times of scarcity; importing grain from Danzig or elsewhere for distribution to the suffering poor; maintaining many orphans, pensioning some of the aged, even housing a few of the infirm, and granting a stream, or at least a rivulet, of doles to favoured widows and other

x SOME EARLY TRACTS ON POOR RELIEF

helpless indigents: not refraining, in particular cases, from levying on the citizens, before Parliament had thought about the matter, what we should now call a Poor Rate, in order to maintain a primitive municipal system of both indoor and outdoor relief.

We may, in Europe, trace four stages in the provision for the poor. There is first the idea that such a provision was an act of piety, entirely within the sphere of Christian charity, to be manifested, without too much consideration of the deserts of the recipient, in individual almsgiving, lay or religious, to the aid of which was brought (though not to the exclusion of other gifts) a more or less definitely allocated fraction of the universal tithe.

The second stage is marked by a significant change of outlook. Not the salvation of the soul of the donor, but the need of the recipient, gradually becomes the determining factor. Personal almsgiving is supplemented by gifts or bequests of endowment for permanent institutions. Individual charity dwindles, at least relatively to the population, becoming too occasional to meet the whole volume of an ever-growing need; and it has to be supplemented in town and country by primitive efforts of collective organisation, whether in gild or fraternity, "church ales" or parish stocks, issues from the municipal granary or the town chest, and even the maintenance of civic institutions.

In the third stage, with a growing integration of national life, even the collective efforts of local authorities are found to be lacking in the completeness and system required, either for the suppression of vagrancy or for the prevention of an amount of indigence likely to produce widespread crime and civic disturbance. There are attempts at national legislation and at systematic administration on a common plan. In order to reduce what is recognised as a burden that must be publicly borne—though one of almost intolerable weight—questions as to methods of relief, and what came presently to be called Poor Law policy, begin to be discussed. Of the beginnings of this

stage, in which the maintenance of the poor is felt as a national burden, Mr. Salter's documents give us a fascinating glimpse.

But although, as Mr. Salter shows, Juan Luis Vives—and for that matter also Luther and Zwingli, and the doctors of the Sorbonne—saw their way with acute penetration far into the Poor Law policy of the ensuing three hundred years, the stage into which they ushered the civic fathers of Ypres and Bruges, and presently also the statesmen of the neighbouring nations, was not final. To-day we have come, almost unawares, well into a fourth stage, in which the community, as a matter of course, makes elaborate and varied public provision, national and local, not merely for the destitute as such, but for each section of the population with whose special requirements it is found most convenient to deal by collective organisation rather than exclusively by individual effort. It is not as an act of piety or philanthropy—it is not wholly or mainly even out of a compassion for the sufferers—that a modern civilised community is filled with maternity clinics and infant welfare centres, schools for children of every kind and grade, training establishments and extensively subsidised universities for the adolescents, hospitals for the sick, a varied array of specialised and publicly supported institutions for every section of the physically or mentally defective, and asylums for those of unsound mind; or that the nation organises at vast expense a ubiquitous provision for the widows and orphans, for the aged and the disabled, and even for the able-bodied men and women to whom the shifts and chances of capitalist industry periodically deny the opportunity of wage-earning. What has at last come to be recognised is the interest of the nation as a whole in ensuring that these common and perpetually recurring needs of the mass of the population should be systematically provided for, and therefore undertaken as a public service. The maintenance of a "National Minimum" in the Standard of Life, below which, in the common interest, no one can be allowed to

xii SOME EARLY TRACTS ON POOR RELIEF

be thrust, or even permitted voluntarily to fall, is seen to be the subject of an indissoluble partnership between the individual and the community, in which, whilst personal obligations and responsibilities unknown to primitive man, or even to mediæval society, are imposed on the head of each family group, and on its several members, the community takes it upon itself to create the organisation and furnish the opportunity through which alone the maintenance of this National Minimum of civilised life can be universally ensured and insisted on. There are hints as to this fourth stage in some of the expressions used by Vives, if not also occasionally in the language of Luther and Zwingli ; but the time was not yet come. In fact, this fourth stage takes us right out of the range of the Poor Law, with which alone Mr. Salter has here concerned himself.

SIDNEY WEBB

April 1926

AUTHOR'S NOTE

AT a moment when we are faced with the possibility of extensive changes in our Poor Law system, it is perhaps not without value to look back on pioneer schemes for the relief of destitution. It is hoped, therefore, that the material here collected may be of some interest not only to historical students but also to that larger public which concerns itself with the origin and solution of social problems.

I am much indebted to my wife and to my sister, Miss E. Gurney Salter, for invaluable help with the translations, to Mr. Sidney Webb for his kindness in writing the Preface, and to Sir William Ashley for friendly suggestions and encouragement.

F. R. S.

MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

March 27, 1926

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE material printed in the following pages all dates from 1523 to 1536 ; it may, very roughly, be thus summarised, working from the end backwards :

No. 6 is the English legislation of 1531 and 1536, and is the only instance in this selection of the activities of a national Government.

No. 5 is taken from the Poor Law records of Rouen. It shows the position arrived at in 1534 in an important, and of course Catholic, French town.

Nos. 4 and 3 are nearly ten years earlier and come from German lands. One is a scheme for an urban and the other for an agricultural community, but both are definitely Protestant in origin and character, and interest is added by their association with the great names of Zwingli and Luther respectively.

No. 2 is Flemish : it is both a record, made in 1531, of the experiment tried for the five preceding years by the rich and prosperous city of Ypres, and an attempt to estimate the amount of success achieved by that experiment up to date. It is given in an almost contemporary English translation.

No. 1 is a pamphlet, also with a Flemish connection. It was written at the request of the magistracy of Bruges, but it has a cosmopolitan ancestry, inasmuch as its author was a Spaniard, educated at Paris and writing actually in England. It had great influence in its day, and without it the scheme explained in No. 2 might never have met with the success it did. It is, in fact, the theoretical foundation on which rested, directly or indirectly, nearly all later practical work, and in a more detailed survey of the material here collected it deserves the first consideration.

xvi SOME EARLY TRACTS ON POOR RELIEF

But before this, a few words of a general kind are perhaps admissible, but only a few, since anything that is written now can be but a pendant to the clear and comprehensive survey of the problem made by Sir William Ashley as far back as thirty years ago.¹

Periods of transition are usually long, but although the great movement which we know as the Renaissance may be said to have covered at least two centuries, yet in its economic aspect it was far shorter and the generation which was young when the sea route to India was discovered witnessed before it was old a series of social and economic changes which were as disconcerting in their suddenness as they were far-reaching in their effects.² Young men who sailed with Columbus or da Gama, or who as stay-at-homes gaped at the news of their discoveries, lived to read in the *Utopia* or the *Narrenschiff* or the *Complaint of Peace* regrets at the social disorders of the age and to see discontent take concrete shape in Ket's rebellion (among others) in England and the Knights' and Peasants' Revolts in Germany. If Englishmen, they lived to deplore the enclosure movement and the consequences of the debasements of the coinage under Henry VIII, and if Spaniards to experience the no less startling rise in prices which resulted from the influx of American silver. If Germans, they grumbled at the huge profits made by Fuggers and Welsers, and perhaps read the indictment of "big business" by the Diet of Nuremberg in 1522 and the spirited defence of capitalism put forward by the city of Augsburg.³ But most certain of all, this new generation, wherever it lived, heard much talk of the old problem of tramps and beggars and the new problem of destitution (destitution, that is, as a normal and not, as heretofore, an abnormal element in social life), and

¹ *Economic History*, vol. i. part ii. pp. 305-376.

² Suddenness, perhaps it should be stated, in their appearance in an acute form; many of them were changes which had been working up for at least two hundred years.

³ Schapiro, *Social Reform and the Reformation*, pp. 33-38.

witnessed too some sort of Poor Law ordinances in practically every country of Europe.

There had been nothing like it, in fact, since that other great period of transition in which the Roman Empire in the West crumbled away into a caricature of its former greatness. It is at that time that we first meet complaints of intolerable swarms of beggars. They are deplored by Christian Fathers, by Chrysostom, Ambrose and Augustine; they are dealt with by vigorous Emperors, by Valentinian II, Theodosius and Justinian; able-bodied beggars are to be driven out and there is to be no begging in the streets, even from the "impotent," except after the fullest investigations into the means and character of the would-be mendicant. The Church, too, uttered its voice to the same effect: the Synod of Orleans ordained in 511 that Bishops should help only those who could not find work, while at Tours in 567 begging was done away with and districts were ordered to undertake the relief of their own poor. At the beginning of the Middle Ages the Church was emphatic in proclaiming the duty of all men to work; without going back on this in theory, the Church at the end of the Middle Ages was in practice more inclined to emphasise the duty of all men to give alms. Over and over again we meet with an ill-scanning hexameter which sets forth the seven *eleemosynae corporales*:

Vestio poto cibo redimo tego colligo condo.¹

to which are added sometimes the seven *eleemosynae spirituales*:

Consule carpe doce solare remitte fer ora.²

But when circumstances changed and a world based on custom gave way to a world based on competition, the destitute increased in number and the existing machinery for their relief, already insufficient, became more than

¹ I clothe, give to drink, give to eat, ransom, shelter, make collection, endow.

² Give advice, criticism, instruction, consolation, remission, tolerance, prayer.

ever inadequate. It cannot be stated too emphatically that the necessity for Poor Law arrangements was not due to the Reformation. It is a problem which confronted Catholic Rouen just as much as Protestant Würtemberg, and is due to the economic conditions of the age, agricultural distress, rise in prices, the influence of Roman Law, disbandment of feudal retinues, and the like. Against these the Catholic Church was no bulwark, even before the Reformation. "If it had ever been attempted to organise charity in a systematic way, making the parish priest the 'relieving officer' of his parish, and the tithes the fund whence aid was to be furnished, that attempt had already broken down."¹ Tithes were not allocated for charity, parishes were not the units of assistance, and monasteries did not always do their fair share even of the somewhat indiscriminating relief for which they were supposed to be responsible. Browning's little poem of *The Twins* explains the position :

A beggar asked an alms
 One day at an abbey door,
 Said Luther ; but, seized with qualms,
 The Abbot replied, " We're poor !"
 Then the beggar, " See your sins !
 Of old, unless I err,
 Ye had brothers for inmates, twins,
 Date and Dabitur.
 " While Date was in good case
 Dabitur flourished too :
 For Dabitur's lenten face,
 No wonder if Date rue."

And it is by no mere coincidence that it is Luther who points the obvious moral, and that it is this same Luther who opposed the commercialism of the Fuggers and sympathised with the agrarian grievances of the German peasants, however much he might condemn them for taking the law into their own hands.

But although at the end of the Middle Ages economic

¹ Ashley, *op. cit.* p. 338.

changes were universal, there was no universally accepted body of opinion as to how the new problem of destitution was to be faced. That is why the solution came (if it can be said ever to have come at all)¹ in a piecemeal fashion. The first step is for a town to try to get rid of its beggars without caring much what happens to them after they have been expelled, and we find therefore such naïve remedies as the one from Southampton, where in 1527 fourpence is paid to four barbers for cutting vagabonds' hair short (a curious form of terrorisation);² and two years later the juries of Nottingham start their long series of presentments, in which the various civic officials are indicted "for suffering valiant beggars." Anti-begging ordinances sometimes go back much further, for, as Mr. Webb has reminded us, this question (and he might have added other social problems also) pushes itself back into the fourteenth century, although the ordinances of that age, especially in England, partake of the nature of police rules against vagrancy rather than of measures of poor relief. Thus the town of Colmar led the way in 1363, and Nuremberg followed, developing its policy by stages, to wit, the ordinances of 1363, 1478 and 1522.³ But although at first all is experiment and there is no uniformity, by degrees a certain measure of agreement is reached and the various schemes of the sixteenth century have many points in common. Most important of all is the spirit in which the question is approached: men began to take to heart the famous phrase of John Major

¹ For it must not be thought that these various arrangements which we have under review were entirely successful in their results. Thus (to take England alone) Awdeley's *Fraternitie of Vacabondes* dates from 1561, and in spite of Elizabeth's comprehensive legislation there were swarms of beggars in London during the reign of James I.

² In the Paris scheme of about the same time, although provision has been made for a doctor and a surgeon, it is the Master-Barbers who are to be on the look-out for possible malingering.

³ See below, p. 82.

xx SOME EARLY TRACTS ON POOR RELIEF

(written probably in 1516) that "if the Prince or Community should decree that there should be no beggar in the country and should provide for the impotent, the action would be praiseworthy and lawful."¹ In this connection it is impossible to overestimate the value of Vives' book as a text-book of principles, and of the Ypres scheme as a practical working out of those principles, not entirely unblest by the Church.

In conclusion, it is significant that so much material should be available within so short a compass of time. Clearly in social matters the third decade of the sixteenth century was a period of the greatest importance. For the question of poor relief we have Luther (writing in 1523), and Vives (1526), the Ypres scheme (started in 1525 and described to the world in 1531), beggars' ordinances in many German towns in the years 1522-25,² the earliest French projects at the end of the decade, and important English legislation in 1531, to say nothing of the Southampton and Nottingham activities already referred to. Apart from the poverty problem, we have in this short period the Knights' and Peasants' Revolts in Germany, together with the crusade to crush monopolies and the premature attempt at a kind of Zollverein; Wolsey's ineffective Enclosure Commission in England³; and in France the crushing taxation necessary for the anti-Hapsburg wars and the ransom of the King's sons: and all the time the great rise in prices was going on; in England in 1527 "the price of wheat as well as that of rye suddenly more than doubled,"⁴ and this inaugurated a series of bad harvests and scarcity which afflicted the Continent as well as ourselves. If to all this is added the religious turmoil (including the sack of Rome by Imperial troops in 1527), the period, however unattractive in some of its features, appears no less exciting and full of possibilities, for good or evil, than the corresponding decade four centuries later.

¹ See below, p. 62.

² Below, p. 82.

³ This of course was, strictly speaking, rather earlier.

⁴ Ashley, p. 355.

SOME EARLY TRACTS ON POOR RELIEF

I

THE *DE SUBVENTIONE PAUPERUM* OF JUAN LUIS VIVES

THE subject-matter of this work was first made widely known to students of economic history by Ehrle and, as regards English readers, Ashley.¹ But many others have known of its author as a great humanist scholar and educational pioneer without being aware that he contributed materially to the solution of a pressing social problem, and it is significant that Professor Woodward, in his *Education during the Renaissance*, devotes a whole chapter to Vives and analyses a large amount of his writings without so much as mentioning the existence of the *De Subventionem*; nor is it alluded to by the talented author of the sketch in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (for to this extent he is allowed to count as an Englishman, by residence rather than by birth qualification). As far as Vives is concerned, educationalists and economists seem to have been working in watertight compartments. But that he was one of the striking figures of the age can be questioned as little as that his work on *Poor Relief* was of the greatest influence and importance.

Vives, it may be said, is Spain's contribution to the

¹ Ehrle, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Armenpflege*; Ashley, *Economic History*, vol. i. part ii.

2 VIVES' *DE SUBVENTIONE PAUPERUM*

Renaissance. He has been described as "one of the Triumvirs of the Republic of letters in the first quarter of the sixteenth century," representing the best *judgment* of the time, while Erasmus represented *intellect* and Budé *eloquence*.¹ Born in Valencia and educated at Paris, Vives migrated to Flanders in 1514 and wrote there a fierce attack on the educational system of Paris, whose antiquated methods of dialectic and disputation he held to be clearly unsuited to the new age in which "in all nations men are coming forward of excellent, clear and free intellects." He was next commissioned to edit an annotated text of St. Augustine's *City of God*, to form part of Erasmus' great series of Church Fathers. In view of the important influence exercised by St. Augustine on the religious thought of the early sixteenth century, the choice of Vives for this work is significant of the opinion held of him by scholars, although it must be confessed that in the end Erasmus was dissatisfied at the small sale of the book. Vives, however, thought that the book had not really done so badly and that Erasmus was unnecessarily petulant, so the two became somewhat estranged. Vives then migrated to England (where he frequently stayed with Sir Thomas More at Chelsea), and was appointed by Wolsey to his newly founded Lectureship in Rhetoric at Oxford. He was made a Fellow of Corpus Christi College and one abiding effect of his period of residence was his friendship with van Praet, a young Fleming, afterwards Mayor of Bruges, at whose invitation it was that he wrote the *De Subventionē*.² This was not begun, however, until Vives' period of Court life, which started in 1524 and lasted till 1527: as a Spaniard he naturally enjoyed the favour of Queen Katharine, and indeed later underwent a short

¹ Teissier, *Eloges des hommes sçavans* (Utrecht, 1696), i. 115.

² Ludvig van Praet was Mayor of Bruges from 1525 to 1537, and afterwards was a member of Charles V's Council of State. Vives dedicated to him his *De Consultatione* in 1523, and he was the subject of a panegyrical poem by Jacques van Mayere (see below, p. 78). He died in 1555.

period of imprisonment for championing her cause. He then returned to Flanders and lived there, mainly at Bruges, till his death in 1540.

During his English period Vives addressed a weighty appeal to Henry VIII in favour of higher education for adults of all classes. "No one in the commonwealth is outside the scope of religion. The mass of the people should be helped in literature partly by conferences¹ and partly by books written in the mother tongue, advising them as to the subjects worth reading and knowing, by which their good hours may not be spent in reciting old women's fables, nor in actions of a non-exemplary kind." In addition, he was one of the first to advocate nature study as a part of education, and also the direct method in the learning of languages.² But for us his main interest lies in the *De Subventionē*. This, Ehrle says, was at once translated into French, Spanish and Italian; it is curious that no translation should have appeared then or since in the language of the country where it was written.

Book I. consists of not particularly original or valuable generalisations about private charity, and is not here translated. Book II., dealing with public charity, is given below, occasionally only in the form of a full summary, since Vives, clear and effective though he is, takes sometimes rather a long time to come to the point. The translation is made from the two-volume edition of his works printed at Basle in 1555-56.³

Apart from his main thesis, the duty of the community to make provision for its poor, various subsidiary points

¹ Presumably by this he means practically what we should nowadays call study groups or classes.

² Dr. Foster Watson, the chief English authority on Vives, has dealt with him in this capacity in an article entitled *The Father of Modern Psychology*, 1915.

³ The copy in the University Library at Cambridge bears on the title-page the name of Thomas Knyvett, the man to whom was entrusted the education of Princess Mary, daughter of James I; he was also one of those whose search of the Parliament buildings discovered the Gunpowder Plot.

4 VIVES' *DE SUBVENTIONE PAUPERUM*

of interest are raised by Vives : the real economy of any money spent on education, the need of special care for the mentally defective, the value of medical experts in detecting malingerers, the duty of cities to be frugal in their public banquets, sentiments of mild anti-militarism, etc. It is assumed throughout that there will be no lack of employment for those strong enough to work, and no lack of funds available to relieve the feeble and helpless. The idea of a compulsory poor-rate is definitely ruled out, while the character of recipients of relief is to be diligently inquired into ; in fact, there is to be a general censorship over the lives of the poor.¹ Above all, the facts must be got at before remedies are tried, and a systematic and detailed classification must accordingly be made of the poor and destitute in the city.

JUAN LUIS VIVES TO THE CONSULS AND SENATE OF BRUGES, GREETING :

A pilgrim and stranger, says Cicero, in a foreign State ought not to be inquisitive. This is so. For prying into the affairs of others is always hateful, but interest and friendly advice are permissible. Howbeit, the law of Nature forbids that any human interest should be outside a man's province, while the grace of Christ unites all men together as a most binding force. And as to my being a foreigner, truly I am as devoted to this city as to my Valencia, nor do I call it aught else but my fatherland, wherein I have now dwelt for fourteen years, if not continuously, yet at least I am wont to return hither as to home. I like your reasonable government, the education and courtesy of this people, the exceeding peace found here, and your justice famed

¹ This is an idea met with over and over again in early schemes of Poor Relief. See below, pp. 54, 85, 100, 115.

among all nations. Wherefore I have brought my wife hither, and I care for this city's welfare as for the place wherein I plan to spend whatever remainder of life the goodness of Christ may allow me. I consider myself one of its citizens, and I regard its citizens as my brethren. And the poverty of many of them has impelled me to write down the means whereby in my judgment they might be relieved. This I had already been asked to do while I was in England by the lord Pratensis,¹ your governor, who, as is his duty, ponders much and often over the public welfare of this city.

This work is dedicated to you, both because you are eagerly set on doing good and relieving the distressed (as is proved by the crowd of needy persons who flock hither from all quarters as though to relief ready prepared for the indigent), and also because it is the fundamental principle of all cities that there should be in all of them facilities, by the giving and receiving of benefits and by mutual aid, for the increase of charity and the strengthening of human fellowship. This should be the task of a city's governors, to take thought and to strive that one man should aid another; that none should be oppressed, none weighed down by loss unjustly incurred; that the stronger should stand by the weaker; that, by charity daily increasing, harmony should prevail in the intercourse of the citizens and their assemblies, and should endure for ever. And just as in a wealthy house it were a disgrace for the father of the family to allow any to hunger, or go naked, or to be disgraced by rags, so it is not seemly that in a city by no means needy the magistrates should permit any citizens to be harassed by hunger and poverty. I hope you will read the book with pleasure, or, at any rate,

¹ Ludvig van Praet. See above, p. 2.

that you will consider the subject with the same accurate care that you would give to a private lawsuit in which thousands of florins are at stake. I wish you and your city all prosperous and happy fortunes.

GIVEN AT BRUGES, THE SIXTH DAY OF JANUARY,
1526.

ON POOR RELIEF.

BOOK II.

*How it behoves the Governor of a City to care for the
Poor.*

So far we have treated of that which is incumbent on every individual. Now we shall treat of the public duty of the city, and of its Governor, who is to the city what the mind is to the body. As the mind does not leave one part of the body sluggish while quickening another, but rather cares for the whole body, in like manner the magistrate should leave no part of his people uncared for. For they who take care of the rich only, scorning the poor, act just as the doctor would who should take little thought for healing hands or feet because they are at a distance from the heart, which would result in grievous harm to the whole body. So too in a State the poorer members cannot be neglected without danger to the powerful ones. For the former, driven by their need, in some cases turn thieves. (The judge considers it beneath himself to take notice of this. But that is a trifle.) They envy those richer than themselves, they rage and complain bitterly that the rich should have a superabundance to enable them to maintain buffoons, dogs, mistresses, mules, horses,

and elephants, while they for their part have not enough food for their hungry little children: the rich are proudly and insolently abusing the riches which they have snatched from the poor and their like. It is difficult to believe how many civil wars such outcries have provoked among all nations, in which the populace, infuriated and burning with hatred, has first of all made trial of its rage against the rich. This was the plea of the Gracchi and of Catiline when they fomented civil strife—not to speak of any in our own times and countries. Further, I do not hesitate to add the passage from the oration of Isocrates, called *Areopagitica*, on Athenian civilisation. He said that their behaviour to each other was reflected in their utterances. For there was this harmony not only about public affairs but also in private life, so much forethought did one show for the other, as was proper both among right-minded persons and those sharing the same fatherland. Far from the less prosperous envying the rich, they even regarded the interests of the great houses as if they were their own, realising that their own welfare was served by these. The wealthy did not despise the poor but, feeling the wants of their own fellow-citizens to be a disgrace to themselves, relieved their necessities, sometimes letting out lands at a small rent to be cultivated by them, sometimes appointing them to business agencies, or affording them other chances of making profit. Nor did they fear that they might fall into one of two mischances, being either totally despoiled by a general levy, or at any rate to some extent. On the contrary, they considered it as good security to part with their money as to keep it. So far Isocrates.

Look, again, at the public danger from infectious disease, as we have often seen, some one man bringing

a great and terrible disease into a city from which many die—the plague, for example, or the French sickness, and so on. Suppose there is at some church or other a high festival drawing great crowds : one has to make one's way into the building between two lines of diseases, vomitings, ulcers, or other afflictions disgusting even to speak of. This is the one same route for boys, girls, old men, pregnant women. Do you think they can all be so made of iron that they would not be disturbed, fasting as they are, at the sight ? Especially when ulcers of this sort are not only forced upon the eyes, but upon the nose and mouth, and are almost touched by the hands and bodies of the passers-by, so insolent are they in begging ; I pass over the fact that some of the crowd have but just left a plague-stricken corpse.¹ These are matters not to be neglected by the rulers of cities, both for curing the diseases and to prevent them spreading. Moreover, it is not the part of a wise magistrate, and one that studies the public welfare, to allow so large a section of the citizens to be not only useless but actively harmful to itself and to others. For when the good feelings of the many are stifled because they have not enough to feed themselves on some are driven to open brigandage alike in the town and on the roads, while others thieve in secret. And the young women, laying aside their modesty, do not attempt to preserve their chastity, but everywhere sell themselves cheap, nor can they be drawn away from this most evil way of life. Meantime the old women become bawds, and poisoners along with it. The young children of the poor are villainously brought

¹ The City Fathers of Ypres claimed that by their system of poor relief they had abolished these unpleasant manifestations of distress. See below, p. 69.

up, they and their sons lying outside the churches or wandering round begging ; they do not attend the Sacraments or hear the sermon ; nothing is known as to their manner of life, or as to their religious or moral opinions.

[SUMMARY.—Church discipline is so lowered that nothing is done without payment. Beggars do not share in Church rites, and have no chance of receiving instruction ; hence their opinions and morals are corrupt. If they do attain wealth, they become intolerable on this account. Their offences are not so much their fault as that of the magistrates who have neglected them, and concerned themselves only with suits about money, and the punishment of crime. It were better to strive to make them good citizens than to punish them when too late. According to Roman law, no citizen had to beg, and ever since the Twelve Tables was forbidden to do so. Athenian law was to like effect. God gave the Jews, as to a stubborn race, a stern law, but it enjoined care for the needy. Wherefore it would be disgraceful for Christians, for whom charity is the first and perhaps the only commandment, not to succour the poor we see all around. Everything in a city that falls into decay is renewed, whether walls, dykes, or institutions ; thus the citizen, too, should be relieved who has suffered damage from any cause. Salutary measures have been thought out by men of weight, who have wished the city's good ; lowering of taxes, handing over of public land to be tilled by the poor, public distribution of surplus funds, such as we have seen even in our own time. But special occasions are needed for the above, which do not often arise at present, so recourse should be had to other schemes, more convenient and more regular.]

*The Collection of the Poor and their Classification.*¹

Someone will ask me how such a vast number is to be relieved? If charity had any power over us, she herself would be a law for us (although love needs no law), to hold all things in common; none would consider the needs of another less carefully than his own. Now there is no one who spends his care outside his own house, sometimes not outside his own chamber, or even his own self, for there are many who do not trust their parents, sons, brothers, or wives sufficiently. Therefore at times recourse must be had to human remedies, especially among those for whom the divine have little efficacy. My scheme is as follows. Of the poor, some live in hospitals, as they are called—in Greek, *ptochotropheia*, but we shall employ the more familiar name. Others ask alms in public, others bear as they can their needs each in his own home. I call those places hospitals where the sick are nourished and tended and where a certain number of indigent persons are maintained, where boys and girls are educated, and foundlings nourished, where the insane are controlled, and the blind may spend their days. Let the Governors of the city recognise that all these matters pertain to their charge. Let nobody chatter about the founder's statutes, they will remain inviolate.² It is not the mere words that must be weighed, but the equity, as in *bona fide* contracts, and the intention, as in wills, concerning which there is no doubt but that

¹ Sir William Ashley has pointed out that the Committee of Dobbs and Ridley, which worked in London in the time of Edward VI, produced a Census of the Poor on almost identical lines. *Op. cit.* pp. 344, 362.

² This was evidently a point of some importance. See below, p. 117.

the intention is that the wealth a testator leaves may be put to the best uses possible, and spent in the most deserving place—the testators being more concerned for the accomplishment of their purpose than as to the persons or means through which it should be effected. Furthermore, there is nothing in a city so independent as not to be subject to the cognisance of those who rule the State. For it is no liberty to refuse subjection and obedience to the public magistrates, it is rather an incitement to savagery and an occasion for license overflowing in any direction it pleases. Nor can anyone withdraw his goods from the care and control of the city unless he himself at the same time leave the city. Nor, forsooth, can a man withdraw his life, which comes before all else, and is dearer to each, especially when he has made his fortune by the free gift of the State, and by its help has preserved it and held it.

Wherefore, let two Senators, accompanied by a scribe, visit each of all these houses, and investigate; let them make a note of the places of origin, numbers, and names of those who are maintained there, and also of what cause brought each of them there. Let them bring all these details to the Consuls and Senate in their Court.

Let those who have endured poverty at home be put on a list, with their children, by two Senators in each parish, adding their needs and their means of living hitherto. It may easily be learnt from their neighbours what cause brought them to poverty, what kind of persons they are, how they live, and how they behave. Information about one poor man shall not be taken from another, for envy is not idle. Let the Consuls and Senate inform themselves on all these

points. If anyone fall suddenly into some misfortune, let them notify it through some Senator to the Senate, and let decisions be taken with regard thereto in accordance with their quality and condition.

Let those of the vagabond beggars with no fixed abodes who are able-bodied set forth before the whole Senate their names, and the reasons for their begging, in some open place, or square, that such a dirty throng may not invade the Senate-house: let those who are sick come before two or four Senators, with a doctor, that the Senate as a whole may be spared the sight of them; let them be asked to give references to testify as to their way of living.

Let the Senate assign to those, whom it has set over the examination into and carrying out of these matters, the power of compelling, forcing, even to the extent of sending them to prison, by which means the Senate shall know who have disobeyed them.

How a Livelihood may be provided for all these.

[SUMMARY.—It is God's will that all should earn their bread and other necessities, as St. Paul teaches, and the Psalms. In a well-ordered city, like a well-ordered household, laziness is not to be tolerated. Health and age must be considered. Beware of feigned diseases or infirmities, seek a medical opinion, and punish such deceptions. When sending back foreigners to their own cities, take care to supply them with food for their journey. If from war-stricken towns or villages, remember what St. Paul teaches as to there being neither Greek nor barbarian in Christ; they should be treated as fellow-countrymen.]

Let the natives of our city be asked if they know any

trade. Let those that know none, if of suitable age, be taught that for which they declare themselves most inclined, if permitted,¹ or, if otherwise, something resembling it, for instance, let him who cannot sew clothes sew what are called jack-boots. If the man is elderly, or too dull of intellect, let them give him some easier job, in the last resort such things as no one can fail to learn in a few days—to dig, to draw water, to sweep, to push a barrow, to be an usher in court, to be a messenger, to go about with letters or on errands, to drive horses in relays.²

Those who have ruined themselves in disgraceful and base ways, such as gambling, immorality, luxury, greed, must indeed be fed, since no one should die from starvation, but the more disagreeable tasks are to be allotted them and harder fare, so that they may be an example to others and may themselves repent of their former life; they will thus not easily fall back into the same vices, restrained therefrom by their scanty food and hard labour, not dying of hunger, but being made lean withal.³

Workshops will not be lacking in which all these people can be employed. The wool weavers of Armentières and, indeed, most manufacturers, are complaining of the scarcity of hands. The silk weavers of Bruges would hire a certain number of boys merely to turn some winders, and would pay them a stiver each per day, more or less, as well as their food, yet they cannot find any to take on the job. For their parents say they bring home more money from begging. A

¹ this means, presumably, if there is no guild rule or the like which would disqualify them.

² presumably "post-horses."

³ Cf. the Rouen treatment, below, p. 113.

certain number, however, may be allotted in the name of the public to individual manufacturers from those who are unable of themselves to obtain employment. If anyone has made sufficient advance in his trade, let him open a workshop. These men, and also the masters to whom the magistrates may have assigned some novices, ought to receive contracts for those things which the State uses in its public capacity—very numerous they are—such as statues, whether sacred or secular, clothes, drains, ditches, buildings, and also for those things which will be needed by the hospitals, so that wealth originally dedicated to the poor may be consumed by the poor. I would give the same advice to Bishops, colleges, and abbeys. But I will write to them elsewhere, and I trust they will act thus of their own free will, even though it is I, a nobody, who counsel it.

Those who have at the time no prospect of a master or a home shall receive bare maintenance in some place of charity. But let them not be idle meanwhile, lest in leisure they should learn sloth. In this same house let breakfast or supper be given to able-bodied travellers, and some provision that shall suffice for their journey to the nearest city to which they are bound.

In the hospitals, those who are strong and hang on there, enjoying like drones the sweat of others, should be sent out and set to work, unless they have a claim to stay there, such as kinship, in the case of those to whom this privilege was bequeathed by the bounty of their ancestors, or because they have enriched the house by their own gifts. Let the rest be forced to work there for the common advantage. If anyone else who is sound and healthy craves the charity of the house and its governors to be allowed to remain, let him stay on

the same conditions. Let no one be allowed to live in luxury from wealth formerly set aside for purposes of this kind. For there are those who from servants have become masters, and women living delicately in great state who, when the work of charity was started, were dedicated to its service ; now they have become proud ladies, and either exclude the poor or treat them badly ; let this office be taken from them, that they may not wax fat on the goods of the poor whom they have shut out ; let them perform the duties for which they came thither, let them be zealous in the care of the sick, like those widows of the early Church whom the Apostles so greatly praise. For the time that shall remain to them, let them pray, read, spin, weave, and occupy themselves in some good and honest work, which is what Jerome enjoins on even the wealthiest and most highly born matrons. Nor would I allow the blind to sit or wander about idly, there are many ways in which they can employ themselves. Some are capable of education, let them study ; in several of these we can see advances in learning by no means to be despised. Others are musical, let them sing, or play stringed instruments or the flute ; let some turn lathes or wheels, others drag wringers ; let some blow the bellows in smiths' forges. We have known blind men to make satchels, little chests, baskets, and other receptacles. Blind women spin, and make thread into balls. If only they do not desire to be idle or refuse work, they may easily find work they can do. Laziness and listlessness are the causes of their declaring themselves unable to do anything, not their bodily infirmity. For invalids also and the aged, light tasks should be suggested, suited to their age and strength. For no one is so enfeebled as to have no power at all for doing

something. Let this be so arranged, in order that the idle thoughts and base desires that are born of idleness may be checked by occupation and absorption in work. The hospitals being thus cleared again from leeches of this sort, let the resources of each hospital, after taking account of their annual income and of the money in hand, be considered, and let book debts, gifts and superfluous ornaments, such as delight children or are more suited to covetous hoarders than to pious folk, be taken away.

Then let there be sent to each of the sick poor as much as shall seem sufficient, only let the provision not be so limited that it shall mean semi-starvation. This is the first thing to be arranged for in the case of the sick, whether in body or mind, for lack of food increases their malady. But let there be no dainties, lest they should easily become accustomed to such things to their hurt.

[SUMMARY.—The cure of the reason, man's most precious possession, is of first importance. When a person of unsound mind is brought to hospital, first ascertain if his insanity is congenital, or caused by some mishap ; if there is chance of recovery, or not ; nothing must be done to increase the insanity or cause it to persist—such as irritating or mocking the sufferer. How inhumane that is ! Treatment suited to each individual case should be tried : for some, applications and diet ; for some, gentle treatment ; for some, teaching. Others may require coercion or bonds, but all should be done in a way likely to pacify them, and lead to recovery.]

If the hospitals cannot contain all the sick poor, one or more houses should be set up which will suffice ; there they should be established, with a physician, and

drugs, and men and women attendants. The result will be, as in nature and in shipbuilding, that the foulness will all be restricted to one place, and the rest of the body not infected. Furthermore, if any of them are suffering from a disgusting or contagious disease, they shall sleep and eat separately, so that the annoyance or the infection shall not spread to others and there never be an end of diseases.

When a patient recovers, he shall be treated like the rest of the able-bodied people and shall be sent to work, unless from a sense of gratitude he prefers to serve others on the spot by his trade.

The needy who remain in their own homes should be given work on public constructions or for the hospitals, nor will work be wanting from the citizens ; and, if they can prove their want to be in excess of what they earn by their toil, the amount that seems needed should be added.

Let those who investigate the needs of the poor do so in a humane and kindly manner, let them avoid uncharitable interpretations ; let them not act harshly, unless it appear to them necessary in dealing with the refractory or those who speak against the city's governors.

Let this rule be agreed upon : If anyone shall ask for money to be given to any person on the pretext of necessity, or shall intervene by his influence or authority to secure it, let him not obtain it, and let there be a fine, such as shall seem good to the Senate. Let it be enough for anyone to notify that there is some person in need. Let those set over the almsgiving, or what the Senate has allotted, take cognisance of the rest, and let alms be given as the man's need shall demand. Thus there shall not in future be rich men saving their own money and demanding, from the funds of the poor, gifts for their servants, the members of their household,

kindred, and their own intimate friends, whereby those who are most in want are robbed, and influence begins to exclude the needy, as we see to have happened in the hospitals.

The Care of Children.

* Let there be a hospital where abandoned children may be nurtured, to whom appointed women shall act as mothers; these shall nurture them until their sixth year; then let them be moved on to the public school, where they shall receive education and training, together with maintenance. As far as is possible let the masters of this (boys') school be men who have received a good liberal education, who shall infuse their good manners into the rough school. For there is no greater danger for poor boys than a base and squalid and uncultured bringing-up. In selecting teachers of a suitable kind let the magistrates not spare expense. They will secure for the city over which they rule a great boon at small cost.¹

Let the boys learn to live soberly, cleanly, and purely, and to be content with little. Let them be kept from all vain pleasures, nor let them grow acquainted with luxury or gluttony; let them not become the slaves of greed, lest, when they lack some desired dainty, they should throw aside all shame and beg, as we see certain people do, the moment they lack mustard, or something of the sort.

Let them not only learn to read and write, but let them first of all learn Christian piety, and the right way of thinking.

I would say the same about the girls' school, in which

¹ The great value of education was appreciated also by Luther and Zwingli, and by the framers of the Ypres scheme. See below, pp. 35, 91-2, 98.

the first rudiments of letters are taught. If any girl show herself inclined for and capable of learning, she should be allowed to go further with it. Only let everything tend to better conduct. Let them learn right ways of thinking, and piety; also spinning, sewing, weaving, embroidery, good cookery, and household management; ¹ modesty, sobriety, courtesy, shamefastness and, above all, the safeguarding of their chastity, knowing well that that is the one true good of womankind.

Later on, let those boys who are quickest at learning be kept on in the school, to become the masters of others, and afterwards to enter a seminary of priests. Let the others move on into workshops, according to their individual bents.

Censors and the Censorship.

Let the Senate yearly appoint two Censors, men of weight and of conspicuous integrity, who shall investigate the life and conduct of the poor, whether of children, youths, or old men; what the children are doing, what progress they are making, what are their behaviour, natural gifts, and promise, and if there are any who are doing wrong; according to whose rebuke let everything be amended.

They shall most carefully enquire whether the youths

¹ This was a great point with Vives: a little earlier (1523), in the *De Institutione Feminae Christianae*, which he had dedicated to Katharine of Aragon, he had asked, "Why is there so much indifference to home ties in these days?" He is speaking from his experiences of life in Bruges. "This I take to be the real cause—the idleness of wives and mothers, and their carelessness in the art of cookery, which induces in husband and son a positive repulsion for the entertainment they find at home, and drives them to seek more attractive fare elsewhere" (quoted in Woodward, *Education during the Renaissance*, pp. 208, 209).

and old men are living in accordance with the laws enacted about them, and whether the old women practise the trades of bawd and poisoner. Let all live frugally and soberly. Let those be punished who haunt gaming booths, or wine or beer shops; if they do not heed a first or second reproof, let proceedings be taken against them.

Let such penalties be fixed as shall seem good to the wisest in each city. For the same are not suited to all times and places, and different people are influenced by different penalties.

The Censors must studiously beware of being deceived by the fraud of idle and do-nothing fellows.

I were fain, indeed, that these same Censors might take note of the youths and sons of rich families also. It would be of the greatest advantage to the city if they could force these to give an account to the magistrates, as to their fathers, of the way in which they spend their time—in what pursuits or professions. This would be a greater charity than giving many thousand florins to the destitute. This was of old arranged for among the Romans by the Censor's office, and among the Athenians by the Areopagus; but, on the decay of the good old customs, it was renewed by the Emperor Justinian in the law relating to the quæstorship, which provided that enquiry should be made into the condition and wealth of all alike, priestly as well as laymen—who they were, whence they had come, and for what reason. This same law allows no one to lead an idle life.

Of the Funds to Pay for these Expenses.

★ This is all very well, someone will say. But who is going to pay for all this? For my part, so far from fore-

seeing a deficit, I am inclined to think there will be a surplus, sufficing not only for the relief of ordinary daily needs but of extraordinary ones also, such as often arise in different cities.

[SUMMARY.—In the first days of the Church all handed over their wealth to the Apostles. They appointed Deacons to distribute it. These were soon supplemented by laymen, and the needy were succoured. As unworthy people began calling themselves Christians, some of these proved dishonest in the administration of relief funds. So the Bishops and priests of their charity took it over again. Testimony of Chrysostom as to the integrity of Bishops in his day. But the Church became more worldly by the time of Jerome, who complains that Bishops, monks, and priests are given to wealth. They have used money meant for the poor to maintain their own state, forgetful of the holy duties—teaching, consoling, rebuking, healing—laid on them. They should practise charity, and not despise the lowly, or give place to the proud. Bishops, Abbots, and other Church rulers, if they only would, could from their own resources relieve the greater number of the poor. If they will not, Christ will be their Judge. Riot and civil war are worse evils even than robbing the poor ; money, even vast sums of it, should not be thought worth fighting for by Christian people. Nor should the poor desire revolts, by which they might think to profit ; they should rather be meditating night and day on their final goal, where Lazarus shall receive good things after evil in this life.]

Accordingly, the annual income of the hospitals should be assessed ; there is no doubt that, when work has been found for the able-bodied, their revenues will suffice, not only for those who live in the hospitals,

but also to be shared out among outsiders. For the resources of the hospitals in any one city are, I am informed, such that, if rightly spent, there will be ample for the relief of all the citizens' needs, both ordinary and extraordinary, and for emergencies.

Let the richer hospitals bestow of their surplus on poorer ones. If the poorer themselves do not need it, let them give this superfluity to the hidden poor.

[SUMMARY.—The love of Christ spread abroad not only makes each city like a family where each member wishes the other's good, but embraces the whole world, as in the time of the Apostles, when all were of one mind and all possessions were held in common. Thus rich hospitals and rich individuals, if their money is not wanted at home, should send it to neighbouring places, or even afar, where the need is greater.]

Each hospital should have two curators assigned it by the Senate, chosen by vote, men who are looked up to and who fear God. These should give an account yearly to the Senate of their administration. If this is approved, let them continue to hold office; if not, let new officials be appointed.

At a man's death, he usually leaves something, according to his means, to the poor. Such a person should be exhorted to order that his funeral pomp may be decreased for the benefit of the poor. This sort of funeral is more pleasing to God, and not without honour in men's eyes. But those about to depart from life should take no thought for honour, nor for praise, except from God.

Let a public distribution of meat be made at a funeral, and bread handed out, with a gift of money or of other things, by a ticket, which it is fitting should be freely bestowed at the actual funeral, and at the end of the

year be chargeable to those who administer the estate of the deceased.

Moreover, let those who are entrusted with this relief work ascertain how the goods bequeathed to the Church are distributed, so that they may not be given to those who least need them.

If all these resources are not enough, let boxes be set up in three or four of the chief churches of the town, which are the most visited, in which any may place the offering that his devotion suggests. Everyone will prefer to put ten stivers into them rather than to give two farthings to vagabond beggars. But these boxes should not be set up every week, only when lack of funds compels.

Over these boxes let two citizens preside, chosen as being upright and worthy rather than wealthy, for in offices of this sort the first essential is that the men appointed by the Senate should be neither greedy nor base in disposition. They shall not amass the largest sums they can but only a sum approximately sufficient for each week, so that they may not become accustomed to handling a large amount of money, lest the same should befall in their case as with some of those in charge of the hospitals. I do not know if this has happened in Bruges, nor have I enquired, being absorbed in my studies. But in Spain I have heard from my elders of many who greatly enriched the wealth of their own houses from the property of the hospitals, while they maintained their families and themselves in place of the destitute, and kept open house for their relatives while keeping down the numbers of the poor in the hospitals: this was made possible by their having so much ready money in hand.

On this account, let not rent-charges in future be

bought for the poor. For on this pretext money is retained by the governor of hospitals. Meanwhile, while the money due for the rent-charge is being collected, and while the wherewithal to buy it is being saved up, the poor man is wasting away from hunger and distress, and dies.

If there is a great amount of money in the hands of those appointed to administer public relief, let some be withdrawn from it, as I said a little before, and sent to bigger places. For having a large sum of money so increases a greedy desire for it that those who handle it are less ready to deal out any of it than in the case of a smaller amount. Indeed, it is essential that it should be controlled by the Senate, and set apart by solemn oaths and penalties and threats, so that it may not be diverted to other uses; and that it should be spent directly need arises, lest it become the custom to keep some of it hoarded for a long period. And there will always be some who need relief, according to the saying of our Lord: "The poor ye have always with you."

Care must be taken lest priests, receiving endowments for pious ends and masses, should sometimes divert them for their own purposes. They are well enough provided for; they need no more.

If at any time there should not be sufficient alms in hand, let rich men be approached and invited to assist the poor, whom God has thus recommended to their care, or at least to lend the amount required. Afterwards, if they desire it, this should be repaid to them in good faith, when there is a greater supply of alms.

The city, too, should itself withdraw something from its public expenses, such as solemn banquets, entertainments, festivities, farewell dinners, yearly games and

processions, all of which make for pleasure or pride or ambition. Nor do I doubt but that a Prince would, undisturbed in mind, or rather gladly, bear being received with less splendour if he only knew to what uses that money was being put which was usually lavished on his visits. For if he did not seek their good, he would at once prove himself childish and foolishly vain or futile. But if a city does not like to take this line, it can at any rate make a loan that can be repaid later when more alms money has come in.

[SUMMARY.—Almsgiving should above all be voluntary, as Paul says. No one should be forced to do good. There will undoubtedly be abundance of alms; God will supply them. People often fear greatly lest funds may not be forthcoming to carry on good works that have been started, but as the work grows, they flow in, through unknown and surprising channels. A school, for example, started at Bruges ten years ago for maintaining eighteen poor boys, about the continued support of which there was some anxiety, now maintains about a hundred and has funds over to provide for more. God's bounty, not human resources, holds and sustains all things in life; trust in Him. The poor who do not work should learn not to have provision for a long time in advance, through which they become self-confident; let them trust, not in man, but in God, Who, as Christ taught, cares for them as for all His creatures. Let them pray earnestly for themselves and for their benefactors.]

Of those who are in Distress through some Sudden or Secret Need.

It is not only poor persons lacking their daily means of living who must be relieved, but those also who have

met with some sudden misfortune, such as captivity in war, imprisonment for debt, fire, shipwreck, or flood. There are many kinds of diseases, and, in fine, countless chances which bring distress on worthy homes. Moreover, there are tender maidens who are often driven by need to an evil life. * Indeed, it is not to be tolerated in a city, I will not say in a Christian community but in any other as long as it is a community of human beings, that some should be so wealthy that they can lavish thousands of pounds on their tombs, or on a tower, or pretentious buildings, or on a banquet, or public gifts, while for the sake of fifty or a hundred florins others are forced to endanger a girl's chastity, or an honest man's life and health, or to desert their wife and young children. Then there are prisoners to be ransomed—a deed named as a pre-eminently good one by the ancient philosophers, such as Aristotle, Cicero, and others. But care must first of all be had for those who are enduring grievous slavery among their enemies, such as Christians in the power of the Hagarenes, who are daily in danger of becoming recreants from the Faith. Next come merchants and others who have fallen unarmed into their enemies' hands. For the last to be succoured should be the armed men, who are the cause of so many evils to others. Let those first be released from prison who have fallen into destitution by evil fortune rather than by their own fault, so that they have been unable to pay their debts ; then those who have been long detained in custody.

For one who has formerly been fortunate and has not become wretched through any base fault of his own, is intensely to be compassionated, either as a warning of the common lot and as a sample of what may happen to all, or because a man who

keeps a memory of happiness feels misfortune more keenly.¹

Nor must you wait until persons of good breeding declare their own needs; these must be tactfully sought out, and relief administered secretly. This has often been done in the past—by Arcesilaus, for example, who, when a friend was in poverty and sickness and was concealing it from a sense of shame, hid a large sum of money under his pillow as he slept, which he might find on rising, and might benefit by without injury to his feelings. Thus care must be taken lest those of good breeding and education should, while assisted by a gift, be overwhelmed with confusion, which to such persons is more painful than the gift is useful or agreeable.

The officials to whom we have entrusted the care of the parishes shall enquire into these concealed needs, and shall bring them before the Senate and wealthy persons without mentioning names, until they are relieved. For it will be to the advantage of these same destitute persons to receive their benefits publicly, in order that they may know whom they have to thank, and that there may be no suspicion on either side that those through whom the gift has been made have intercepted any of it, unless the standing of the needy man is such that he ought not to be brought into such an exception from the rule of privacy.

Someone may remark: If these sort of people also are to be relieved, will there be any end to giving?

Can anything more blessed be imagined than that there should be no limit for doing good? You have said an outrageous thing; I had thought you were

¹ Such folk are given especially considerate treatment in the Zürich scheme. See below, p. 102.

28 VIVES' DE SUBVENTIONE PAUPERUM

about to lament that at some time there would be none left to whom you could show compassion. For the sake of others, you ought indeed to wish that there were none who needed another's help, but, for your own sake that you may never lack the wherewithal for such gain as exchanging eternal things for the things which will perish and are subject to chance and change.

These are the schemes that I recommend for the existing state of affairs ; perhaps it will not be advisable to carry out all I have suggested in every city and at every time. Those who are wise in each community will see to this, and with filial care will consult the interests of their own native city. But the aim and intention and scope that I have set forth are the same for all, and will, I think, always and everywhere be found advisable and needful. * For, supposing it is not expedient to put the whole scheme into operation at once because perhaps long-established custom will oppose innovation, one can use tact and so get the easier items started upon first, and then gradually those which may be considered more difficult. *

Of those who will disapprove of these New Schemes.

[SUMMARY.—Some will always fight against the good, the world against Christ. Thus some will calumniate these attempts at relief of distress, and allege pretexts against them, such as that we make the condition of the poor worse rather than better,¹ or that we seek to disprove Christ's saying that there must always be the poor. Christ did indeed foresee poverty to be inevitable, as St. Paul foresaw heresies, but it does not follow that we are to refrain from relieving the poor

¹ this indeed *was* alleged afterwards at Ypres. *Vide* p. 33.

or withstanding heresy. We, like physicians, would raise these poor up from their miserable condition, and heal them. There will perhaps be some, as there often are in public affairs, who disapprove of any efforts they have not themselves initiated, as if they had a monopoly of wisdom and talent.* Job and Terence both described them ("Surely wisdom shall die with you"). Some of the poor do not want to be improved. The ingratitude of those who receive benefits as if they were insults is like that of the Jews to the supreme Benefactor, Christ. But let us imitate Christ, and not be deterred by it from doing good. Our gifts must be according to the real needs, not the desires, of the persons assisted. They will recognise the good done them when they have come to a better mind, and will say: the Senate of Bruges saved us in our own despite. But if you indulge them they will say, when they see it aright: the Senate killed us by kindness. Just as a son reproaches an unwise father. Act rather like wise physicians with delirious patients, or like judicious parents with erring children. It is the duty of governors not to heed what one or two think of the laws, but to consult the welfare of the city as a whole. But those who have disposed of the alms set apart for the poor will dislike to have that office taken from them. They will make great complaints, such as these: arrangements that have been approved for many years should not be tampered with; it is risky to try new experiments; the decrees of founders should not be altered, all will fall to pieces. To which we would retort: why should not the man who has been hardened by evil influences be softened by good influences? They will not dare to dispute whether our proposed schemes are not better than those they wish to retain. They

themselves have seriously altered many of the customs of the old benefactors, and the methods of founders, which *we* wish to respect ; they have diverted bequests to their own purposes. How much baser it is to rob the poor than the rich ! The Senate desires more amply to succour the poor, let the officers and methods be left to their choice. I will not stir up the mud of all the false charges that may be brought against these administrators. It will be no small glory to them not to have fastened on to money entrusted to them, but to have favoured the concerns of the poor and to have devoted themselves to the public welfare as if it were their own.]

Nothing should be allowed to prevent the Execution of our Schemes.

[SUMMARY.—The highest virtue consists in being ready to endure unjust charges and reproaches while, undeterred by them, serving one's city, as seen in Miltiades, Themistocles, Scipio, and, most chiefly, in Epaminondas and Fabius Cunctator (his action described, and the quotation, *Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem*, given). These were before Christ—how much more should Christians despise pains and prizes, looking for reward to God alone, Who has enjoined charity on us ? Our scheme must be not only approved but carried out ; goodwill without action is useless.]

The Human and Divine Advantages resulting therefrom.

[SUMMARY.—The absence of beggars is an immense credit to a city. A multitude of them implies callousness in individuals and neglect in the rulers. Destitution provokes to crimes and vices of all kinds ; decrease of crime and peace and concord result from care for

all ; the poorer do not envy the richer, or the richer suspect the poorer. The approaches to the churches, and the whole city will be healthier and pleasanter and safer when beggars are not displaying their loathsome diseases. Persons who are not wealthy will not be compelled by their importunity to give, nor deterred from giving by their vast numbers, and fear of their being undeserving. The improvement in so many of the citizens will be the greatest boon to the city ; there will be less sedition, less prostitution, and so forth. Boys and girls will be well trained to live good lives. Thousands of men will be reclaimed for Christ.

As to the advantages of religion, many whose minds are enlightened by religion wish to do charitable works, but have refrained, either repelled by the worthlessness of those who beg, or by their numbers, or from ignorance of the best means of helping, or because their gifts appear like a drop of water on a vast conflagration. Now they can give freely, when all will be so well organised, and undoubtedly many rich folk in other cities, where there is no such scheme, will send money here, where they know it will be wisely bestowed. Add to this, that God specially loves and will bless a merciful people. The Psalmist's picture of the blessed city (quoted). Material blessings will not fail them, as they did not the widow who fed Elijah. But the chiefest advantage is the increase in mutual affection, benefits being given and received simply, and without unworthy thoughts ; this is the heavenly reward prepared for the alms which are given from charity.]

THE YPRES SCHEME OF POOR RELIEF (*FORMA SUBVENTIONIS PAUPERUM*)¹

THE policy pursued at Ypres was not as early as that of Augsburg or Nuremberg, but it had a wider influence than either and became the subject of a *cause célèbre*. Here, as in many other cases, development came by stages ; an ineffective Order of 1515 was replaced by a more systematic policy starting on December 3rd, 1525, although it was not till four years later² that an edict provided severe penalties for beggars. But the fact that the system as a whole was started at the end of 1525 disposes pretty effectively of the idea that the Ypres scheme was directly inspired by the *De Subventionem Pauperum*, since this work was not printed till September 1526 at earliest. But Vives may well have given advice to the City Fathers of Ypres of which no record has come down to us. At any rate their scheme, which does not call for much explanation, was entirely in accordance with his ideas, as subsequently expressed. It is important, in view of later events, to notice that it was brought in with the approval of the local clergy, and that the Dominicans in particular endorsed the new policy. But after four and a half years of the working of the scheme the four Mendicant Orders pronounced themselves adversely

¹ The full title is *Forma subventionis pauperum quae apud Hyperas Flandrorum urbem viget, universae Reipublicae Christianae longe utilissima*. Antwerpiae apud Martinum Caesarem, an. 1531.

² To the very day, December 3rd, 1529.

affected.¹ Conferences took place on September 10th, 1530, and again on September 15th: on September 22nd they presented a formal complaint, the main points of which were that the genuine poor were harshly treated by the new rules and that the whole scheme smacked of heresy. These charges were hotly contested by the City Magistrates: the accusation of heresy they indignantly denied, while they pointed out that in the as yet unfinished year 1530 between 1600 and 1800 poor folk had already been helped out of the Common Chest. But the Mendicant Orders were not satisfied and on December 28th, 1530, Jean Crocuis and Jacques le Passe appealed on their behalf to the Sorbonne. The reply was not long in coming (January 16th, 1531). The essential points of this famous judgement are well known, but in view of its importance it has been thought well to print the greater part of it in translation.² The scheme as a whole was blessed, but ecclesiastical revenues were not to be confiscated (for that would be heretical) nor, in view of the supreme importance of the virtue of charity, should almsgiving, even if indiscriminate, be made a punishable offence. In fact, actual begging must be allowed if there was any fear of folk starving through the inadequacy of the public funds available for systematic relief.

Less qualified was the praise that the City was receiving from other sources. Three days before the judgement of the Sorbonne was received, Cardinal John of Louvain had, as Diocesan Bishop, granted an Indulgence the proceeds of which were to go to the Common Chest, and had taken the opportunity of describing the Ypres scheme as "a holy and pious enterprise," while in April of this year the papal Legate, Campeggio, sent the City a commendatory letter on the same lines.³ Enquiries from many

¹ Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites and Augustinians.

² Below, p. 76.

³ Moreover, the Poor Law arrangements figure prominently among the creditable achievements of the city in van Meyere's poem, *In laudem civitatis Hyprensis*, part of which is printed below, p. 78; and Thomas Starkey, the satirist, speaks of the

84 THE YPRES SCHEME OF POOR RELIEF

sources began to arrive, of which the most important was a request by the Emperor Charles V for a copy of the Ypres scheme (September 16th, 1531).¹ In less than a month (October 6th) he is found issuing a Pragmatic Decree forbidding begging throughout the Empire. This Decree borrowed many details from both Ypres and Vives, but at the same time it bore the stamp of an order imposed from above ; it allowed, like the Sorbonne judgement, a certain amount of begging, and this was clearly due to a feeling that official relief was not likely to be adequate, so that without *some* begging real hardship would be caused to genuine cases.² This Imperial Decree was, of course, largely in the nature of a pious wish but a certain number of towns in the Low Countries were stimulated to take the matter up, though even so not without some delay. Thus Ghent issued ordinances, based on the Decree, on February 9th, 1534, and Brussels followed suit in March of the same year.³

Bruges, the adopted home of Vives, did nothing till 1560, and then not very much. The Spanish rule in the Netherlands seems to have been the cause for the slow progress here.⁴ In Spain itself, although complaints of the great increase of beggars go back to 1523,⁴ the first legislation dates only from 1540, and is practically a copy of the town ordinances of Ypres, Ghent and Brussels. Begging was to be put down as much as possible and any-

"maner lately devysyd by the wysedome of the cytyzyny of Ipar, a cyte in Flaundres, the wych I wold wysch to be put in use wyth us" (*England in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth*, ed. J. M. Cowper, E.E.T.S., p. 176).

¹ It was in response to this flood of enquiries that the City Council commissioned the Provost of St. Martin to write the *Forma Subventionis*.

² Licensed beggars were to wear a special badge.

³ As so often, the first orders were ineffective and were re-enacted, apparently with more success, in 1538.

⁴ Valledolid Cortes ; repeated at Toledo (1525) and Madrid (1528).

how (and this is a new point) was only to be allowed on a certificate granted by a priest, and even then not till the licensee had made his confession and received the Sacrament. In Bruges also the ecclesiastical question was raised. The Clergy joined with the municipality in pressing for reform but one member of a Mendicant Order protested, the Augustinian Lorenzo de Villavincenzio, whose three volumes, *De Œconomia sacra circa pauperum curam* (1564), were an important contribution to the discussion. He protests against the amount of secularisation favoured by Ypres, and now proposed for Bruges, and insists that all funds for the relief of the poor must be under exclusively ecclesiastical control. The official pronouncement of the Church came in this case from Louvain, and was sufficiently favourable to induce Margaret, the Regent of the Netherlands, to allow the Bruges reforms to stand. It looks as if by now the *new* position could be considered as satisfactory for practical purposes provided that it was not definitely anti-ecclesiastical, but that the more narrowly orthodox folk hankered after the compromise (if such it can be called) suggested by the Paris answer of 1531. Such at any rate was the line taken by Adam Tanner, S.J.¹, and by most of the Catholic theologians at the end of the sixteenth, and beginning of the seventeenth, centuries.

Attention may, perhaps, be drawn to one or two particular sentences. Begging from door to door is condemned as being "the synke and puddell of many vyces." Gifts in kind are much better than actual money "which many tymes to unthriftes is occasyon of vyce." The benefits of education are fully appreciated. "Truely it is a greater thing and a better to be well taught than to be well borne." On the other hand it is the voice of a bygone age, though one not entirely dead even now, which tells us that "for no other cause dyd nature mengle poore and ryche togyther but that poore men shulde receyue benefytes of ryche men." On the whole, however, the pamphlet is very

¹ *Theologia Scholastica*. Ingolstadt, 1627.

enlightened in outlook, its modernity being only slightly disguised by the quaint, though spirited, phraseology of the translation.

William Marshall, whose translation of the *Forma Subventionis* is printed below, was an ardent Reformer in matters of religion ; he was on that account much favoured by Anne Boleyn who procured for him his license to print, for he was a printer as well as a translator. In 1534 he printed his own translation of the *Gift of Constantine*, Lorenzo Valla's epoch-making essay in criticism, and the *Manner and Form of Confession* of Erasmus. His best known production (for which he had to borrow £20 from Thomas Cromwell) is the *Defence of Peace*, a translation of the *Defensor Pacis* of Marsiglio of Padua. The *Forma Subventionis* was translated and published in 1535. To the translation itself Marshall affixed an almost incredibly doggerel poem and a preface, dedicated to his royal patroness, in which he gave his own views. The position was then being taken seriously in England, and his book, as a matter of fact, appeared in between the legislation of 1531 and that of 1536.¹

THE FORME AND MANER OF SUBVÊTION OR
HELPING FOR PORE PEOPLE DEVYSED AND
PRACTYSED I THE CYTIE OF HYPRES IN FLANDERS
WHICH FORME IS AUCTORISED BY THE EMPEROUR AND
APPROVED BY THE FACULTIE OF DIVINITIE IN PARIS.²

CŪ PRIVILEGIO REGALI.

To the redever,—

Lo here nouvelles, if any man delyte
Newe thynges to see, and newe thynges to rede

¹ See below, p. 121.

² The Emperor's approval means, of course, the Pragmatic Decree of October 1531: the approval of the Sorbonne was, as has been explained, given only with considerable reservations.

Olde mist¹ I cal, that so long tyme hath be write
 As this thing which our old faders knew i dede
 For the primitive chyrche, did their people fede
 That were in such wyse for them providyng
 That what thinges myght their necessyties stede
 They had no myght wandre about in beggyng.

Ryght so nowe of late is agayne devysed
 I mean charitable and ryght expedyent
 Howe the poore of necessities provyded
 May be in these dayes as in tyme aunciente
 So then this boke and treatise present
 If ye thynke it newe by newnes may please
 And who taketh it as an olde presydent
 Can nat but the same for auncientie prayse.

*Translated out of Laten into Englishe
 and printed in the moneth of June*

MCCCCXXXV.

THE PREFACE.

¶ TO THE QUEENES MOST NOBLE GRACE :

Albeit most gracious quene that it hath ben dysputed, reasoned and debated, of a long tyme and season, amongst men of great wysdome, learnynge and experience, by what wayes and meanes most commodious, so great a multytude of poore and nedy folkes (the whiche in every strete and chyrche and at every man's dore, yea, in every place within this realme, idely, lascyvyously, and dissolutely ar wonte and have ben accustomed to go rounne and wander aboute lyke vacaboundes) shuld be socoured releved and holpen and

¹ *Sic.*

although it hath ben provyded nat only by divers and sondry wayes but also i many places for the confort helpe and relefe of the same (yet in my poore conceyt and jugement) no waye hitherto hath been founde and put in experyment more profytable or more assured and to be shorte more convenient necessary or expedite than that same which at the Hyperians in Flanders hath ben devysed practysed and put in use. Whiche thynges justely pondered and consydered I thinke verily it shulde stande ryght well with the comen comoditie and profyte of this moste noble and christen realme if this or lyke provysyon subvention ayde and helpyng were practysed extended and ministred to the poore indigent and nedy of the same. To this adde the most charytable pitye of christes holy apostels used in the privityve¹ church as concernynge the christen povertye that was than, whose steppes to folowe in this behalfe I do nat only thinke in no wyse to be discommendable but also right godly and vertuous and [p. *I]² moch commendable for therby shall nat onely the preceptes and commandementes of almighty god of extendynge pitye and charyte towardses the poore and nedye be fullfylled obserued and kepte: but also many haynouse dedes detestable synnes crymes and offences (by vagabundes vnder the pretence and coloure of beggyng perpetrated commytted and done) be suppressed and extincted besyde the sondrie and dyuerse dyseases contagyons and infections of the people (by the sycke and dyseased nowe goyng abrode in euery place and

¹ *Sic.*

² The page references are to the copy in the University Library at Cambridge, which, however, has the first few pages missing. These have been transcribed from the copy in the British Museum. The inadequacy of punctuation will be noticed throughout.

infectynge the ayre) whiche shall by the same prouisyon be eschewed and auoyded. Wherefore ponderynge deuisynge and delyuerynge with my selfe who of all other were most worthy to whom a treatyce so notable good and excellent shulde be dedycate and offered [p. *2] I determyned at the last that only your grace most gracyouse quene was the personage which of your most haboundant pytie and innuate clemency both coulde and wolde preferre and aduaunce the same to the honour and glory of him from whom all goodnesse is sent habundantly.

Nat that my meanyng is princes most graciouse so highly to esteme this maner and forme of subuention and helpynge that none coulde be deuysed so good or better or that I wold haue it obserued and kepte of in-euytable necessytie bycause it lyketh me or yet that I (beyng baren of wytte lernynge and experience) wolde so ostente and bost my selfe and take vpon me to be a prescriber and teacher yea of any man in this behalfe. But my very mynde entent and meanyng (by puttynge of this honorable and charytable pro[p. *3]uisyon in mynde) to occasyon your grace (which at all tymes is redye to forder all goodnesse) to be a medyatryce and meane vnto oure mooste drad soueraygne lorde the kynges hyghnesse which of his accustomed benignyte and goodnesse also is and alway hath ben helping aydynge assystynge and forderinge of all good purposes and ententes for the stablysshynge and practysynge of the same (if it shall seme so worthy) or of some other as good or better : such as by his maiestye or his most honorable counsell shalbe deuysed. For this cause most excellent quene and in all vertues most prestant princes. In most humble wyse I your dayly Oratour and most bounden bedeman Wylliam Marshall

beseche youre grace to vouchesafue to take in good parte this treatise (although lytle yet hol[p. *4]some and profytable) brought to light and into thenglysshe tonge for the conforte relefe subuentyon and helpinge of the poore people of this realme. So that vnder the shelde protectyon and defence of our most drad souerayn lorde and your most dere husbande it maye go forth in publyque and preuayle ouer those that nat onely do calumpnyate all good bokes and workes yea such as they be nat able to reforme or amende nor yet wyll they any worke or boke wryte and put forth for the commodite or profyte either of the poore and ignoraunte or els of the ryche and lerned. But also as moche as in them is by their secret whysperynges muttrynges counsels and iniust accusatyons wolde blemysse and deface ye¹ and clerely abolyshe and take away both this and all goodnesse that lyketh or pleseth nat their [p. 1] frowarde appetytes and myndes.

Nowe most gratiouse and of god electe and most worthy quene (whom of very meryte and deserte I may call the floure of all quenes) I beseche all mighty god to gyue vnto our sayd soueraygne lorde to your grace and to the lady princes Elyzabeth doughter and heyre to you bothe the contynuall and euerlastynge haboundance of his infynyte grace and faouure. So be it.

¶ Of the causes which moued the noble senate of the Hyperians to aborgate² the open maner of begging (which before was vsed) and to ordeyne thys forme of subuentyon for the poore.

Nat only the commodyte of our comen welthe hathe moued vs to regarde the poore laye people [p. 2] of our cyte but also moch more the loue which (by Christes

¹ Yea.

² *Sic.*

lawe we do owe of dutye vnto theym) hathe greatly moued vs to the same For god hath appoynted our nature to be dylygent. about two thynges that is to wytte Religion (whiche we may call the due honour and reuerence of god) and humanyte or kindnes to our neyghbour. By the fyrst we haue to do and are ioyned with god by the other that is humanite with man : in as moche as that onely sheweth how men shulde lyue together in this worlde. And for this we folowyng humanite endeuour our selfe to helpe suche as the prouidence of god hath ioyned vnto vs nat onely in holy relygion but also in the comen vse and medlynge of cyuile and worldly maters. It appertayneth no doubte to all rulers both of the ecclesyastycall and [p. 3] of the polytycall or ciuyll sorte to care and prouyde for poore folkes lest throughe their sluggardy nat without parell of dampnatyon suche to stande in ieoperdye for lacke of succoure whose mayntenance Christes lawe commytteth indyfferently to all men for none other cause truly is the precepte of mercy and kyndnesse commaunded comenly vnto all men but that the comen cause of the poore might be holpen with the comen ayde and succoure of all men. Moreouer for none other cause dyd nature the fyrste and cheyfe foundres of thynges forge and make man a creature godly louynge and bountuouse but that one man shulde shewe godly loue to another : For lyke as by the reson that the partes of mans body are naturally knytte and ioyned togyther eche to other therfore if one of theym be greued [p. 4] the other also feleth grefe : euen so we that are membres of Chrystes mistycall body ioyned by faythe and charyte ought wyllyngly and mercyfully to offre helpe to suche as haue nede. What is he than so farre wyde from charytie that can any lenger passe by shewynge no benefyte of charyte to those poore wretches

accompted in this worlde but as chippes and castawayes to whom whatsoever be gyuen Christ accepteth it as though it were done to himself. Hytherto they haue wandered lyke scatered shepe in stretes and hyghe wayes in vplandysshe places and townes all arayed with skorfe and fylthynesse pytouslye punysshed with colde nakednesse hungre and thirst: ye and that nat lyke chrystyans but withoute all ordre of lyuynge without consyderatyon of their saluatyon without regarde of the sac[p. 5]ramentes yea and hauyng Christ in very small or no reuerence at all and it is wondre to here howe the yongones were lost by the yuell example of their parentes for by and by in their fyrst and tendre yeres beyng vnhappely brought vp in idelnes and slouthe and taught euyll tatches by the felowshyp of lewde persones among whome they were conuersaunt they sucked euen as of their noryse most vnthrifty maners loke what vyce was anywhere or what venom or poyson al that they gathered lyke spyders weauyng of it in an vnthrifty webbe to take the weke in: Yea and the sober maner of beggyng¹ was so farre decayed that suche gathered moste nat that had most nede but that hadde most boldenes for verye many of theym had so ordered their lyfe to the gettynge of money that they wolde nat [p. 6] take almes as a free benefyte withe thanks: but lordly claymed it as it had ben a trybute due vnto them by lawe. Thus encreased boldnesse and pride and this disceyte that was couered with the cloke of pouerty dayly waxed more and more. They feared nothyng at euerye mannes dores and eares they made importune cryenge the poore they spoyled the ryche they begyled

¹ What this was is explained in the next section, contrasting forcibly with the "bytter and soure crafte of beggyng" which is later shewn to have taken its place. See below, p. 66.

ye and there escaped no man but with their charmes they gotte what they coulde of him. And this myschef also folowed that suche thynges as was gyuen for a remedye of nede they boldly wasted and spent in ryote and pleasure. So sore had malyce blynded many of their eyes that they toke it for no rebuke: such almose¹ as the deuoute people gaue them to lyue with they to spende it vngraciously and in synfull vse. Wherto shulde I speke [p. 7] more as for the corrupte lyuynges the decay of all vertue the vndoynges of good maners it nedeth nat to speke. All the sorte of beggers were drawn and compelled to vyces albeit they were of themselues redye inough therto. No where amonge them was there any regard of temperance no way of sparyng: but all thynges mengled togyther all thynges tourned vpsodowne by them: so farre were they gone into vyces that vnneth² coulde they go any further. Sobrietye temperaunce pacience mekenesse and shamfastnesse were so clene gone away that no token remayned of them. They that were crafty either without shame preuented and forcaught the almose that the good men ought to haue had or elles lyke rauenouse foles they snatched their meat euyn oute of their mouthes so that the [p. 8] weke the honest the humble and lowlyons and the very nedyons were in the meane whyles at home with hongre ynough whiche were most worthy to haue ben releued by the peoples benefyte. By the reason wherof it came to passe that many fered lest a gret parte of their lyberalyte beyng bestowed vppon the euyll shulde be lost and for that cause they ceassed from gyuynges thynkinge that they lost the fruit of their gyftes. It was necessarye therfore to make some good polytycall statute that this olde custome of

¹ Alms.² Scarcely.

vyce and this noughty ordre might be taken away and a vertuose rule might be appoynted for beggers to kepe.

¶ *Of the causes of beggyng.*

Best it were here in the beginnyng of oure preface before we come to our purpose to speke a [p. 9] lytell of beggyng whiles the place requyreth it which dyuerse men for dyuerse causes folowe. The ryche men somtyme by the secrete aduysse of the holyghoste vnknown vnto vs to the augmentacion of meryte wylfully do take vpon them begging and also leaue their owne countrey that bi this meanes either thei may redeme their synnes or encrease grace. But this kynde of beggyng lyke as it is seldome sene so it is rather to be wondred at than to be easely folowed. Howbeit no man is to be letted to folowe that way that maye helpe to his saluatyon : for it might so happen that the ryche man all thinges set at nought either beggyng or trauelyng might highly please god by wyllynge sufferance of mekenesse of labour and of shame fastnesse. And thus that well known wandrer and pilgrim Alexius [p. 10] a cytyzen of Rome dyd begge as it is the opinyon of many men. Thus Fabyola the vyrgyn (as saynt Hierome wryteth to Oceanus) in wyful pouertye did begge which after that she had gladly spent her owne goodes for Christes sake was contented to take almes. Paula lykewyse (as the same author saith) was so lyberall in spendynge that she dyed a begger insomuche that she had no shete of her owne but was fayne to be wrapped or wounde in another bodies shete whan she was deed. And though other also by autentyque wytnesse of holy scripture may be proued wyllinglye to haue begged : yet must we nat make a custome of this lest vnder the

coloure of holynesse (as it maye be well y[no]ugh) after an humayn facyon we falle into errour. For nat all thynges (as Saynt Augustyne writeth to [p. 11] Consencious) that we rede done of sayntes are to be tourned into oure maners and folowed. For Marcus is nat to be folowed in that he dyd cutte of his thumbe : Nor Sampson in that he distroyed himself and other. Moreouer if we consydre ryghtly the nature of beggyng we shall well perceyue that of it selfe without the feloshyp and helpe of mekenesse pacyence and honest shamefastnesse it lytell helpeth vnto blessednesse whiche thyng at the leasewayes appereth well by thexample of Lazarus which was nat accompted more blessed bycause he was a begger than Abraham that had plentye of ryches : For as moche as nat Abraham in Lazarus bosome but Lazarus in the bosome of Abraham dyd rest. Therefore saynt Gregory sayth : Poor Lazarus came to rest but ryche Abraham toke him in his [p. 12] bosome. And I do nat thynke that we shuld beleue that Lazarus was translated of angels into the bosom of Abraham bycause that somtyme he had begged : but for that he suffered pacyently withoute grudgyng the crosse of pouertye and the manyfolde miseryes of the same. But ynough of this now (as I suppose) ye god gyue grace that this be nat a lytell to moche. Ther be also many eueriwhere very nedy and weke folkes without any confort which for a remedy of their necessytye we thinke may be suffred to begge that their lyfe which els shulde be in ieoperdy may be saued : For surely beggyng is a kynde of polycye and wysdome (if it be wel ordred by reason) both profytable and lawfull by naturall equite seruyng for the maintenaunce of lyfe in nede wher otherwyse they wante or lacke can nat be [p. 13] socoured. For a man is created to the preseruatyon of him selfe.

And therfore one of his princypall cares and studyes ought to be one wayes or other to prouyde such thynges as are necessarye for him selfe. And it is sene oftentimes to come to passe that he which can fynde no prouision to mayntayne his owne lyfe dothe craue and desyre other mennes help. But for all this ther is no cause why a man shulde desyre to begge for as moche as wyse Salomon astonyed of it prayed hertely that it might be kepte from him sayenge : Beggery and rychesse gyue me nat lorde. And he telleth the cause sayenge : Lest peraduenture I compel led by nede stele and forswere the name of my god. Lo howe sore he eschewed both beggery and also rychesse as two noughty extremities wysshynge onely for necessaryes to [p. 14] the mayntenaunce of his lyfe as a meane betwene two vyces. Therfore aduyse them that had rather seke by the stretes an vncertayne lyuinge than to be sure of a lyuinge at home for surely they be nygh vnto a great parell that is to saye the temptinge of god. For (if we beleue saynt Augustyne) they tempte god which do put them selfe in ieoperdy of dethe or dedly synne whyle they maye other wayes eschewe and auoyde ieoperdy by mannes reason. Thus seme they to do which do nat as Salomon dyd abhorre the parell of beggynge : but rather do chuse a doutfull lyuinge preferryng it before the certayne and sure. And to no purpose serueth the excuse that they make sayenge : we must trust vpon good mens almose. For on the fyrst beginning of the church whan cristen men (as s. Hierome witnesseth) had more char[p. 15]ite than thei haue now (such as were most perfeyt and most holy : nat lyke these poore holyons trusted vpon mennes almose : but many tymes laboured for their lyuynge lest they shuld charge any man. Howethan can such as refuse the certayne

trust to the vncertayn kindnes especyally this season whan cristen charite is so colde and holynes and deuoty on so sore decayed. Now are some other that go a beggyng neither bycause of deuotion nor yet of nede but to norish idlenesse and to couet their iniquite. These ar these counterfayted pore and vysured nedy folke that lyue idely and vnder the cloke of beggyng they wilyly hyde and shadow sluggardy and al mischef to the great vndoinge of the comen welth. To suche beggyng shulde be forbydden that they shulde nat turne the goodnesse of good men into an euyl vse. [p. 16] Ouerlonge it were to expresse all the facyon of beggyng which onely was the cause why artifcyers could hyre none to worke in their shoppes why seruantes and maydens dyd withdrawe their seruyce from the cytizens puttyng all their hope and confydence in the gaynes and lucre of beggyng as in sure rentes or lyuelode: yea and to that pointe was it come that whan they were ones through idlenesse broughte to begginge they wolde neuer leue it for no warnyng nor counsell. But as the sowe in the myer they continually delyted in it: Inso-moch that they wolde nat desyre to chaunge their misery euen with the riche mennes estate. Fynally they ranne so farre into vyce and abhominacion that the yonge sorte (whom nature ordeyned to vertue) the euyl taught parentes did worse bringe vppe in the [p. 17] noughty crafte of begginge in whiche euen from their infancye the yongons lerned to castaway honest shamefastnesse and toke all lewde boldnesse and with widdering idlenesse souked in all sluggishnes and so vsed them to piking lyeng and bragginge: brefly to take occasyon of all vices well nere: For youth receyueth nothings so redily as dishonestye and agayne nothings is so harde to be lefte for it is very harde to pull any man from such

vices as by longe vse ar tourned in a maner into nature.

¶ *Pore men lyke fatherlesse shulde be holpen with dilygent ouersyght and prouidence of publyke tutours and gouernoures.*

It is playne that a great part of poore men can so litell skill to compasse a great matier and haue [p. 18] so lytell prudence that they can by no meanes prouyde for themselfe and loke for their owne profyte nat gette their owne lyuinge nat spende it mesurablye as they ought to do but manye tymes waste it in noughty vse. For this defaute is commen almoste to all beggers that they know no sparynge vntyll they be dryuen to it. All their studye is for their belyes and mouthes nothinge for sparynge. And therfore many times they hunger harde and sore. Of all grefes they can worst away with hungre and pleasure they vse all in riote. They neither be content with want nor yet with plenty withoute care of to morowe they lyue after their pleasure withoute consyderation withoute any wisdom. Suche thinges as be passed they remembre nat and suche as be to come they loke nat for. Their owne [p. 19] gere they caste away other mennes they gredely desyre. All they waste and spende prodigally nothing kepynge for them selfe against the tyme to come. Nat so wyse as Antes other wyse called Pismares that gether in somer wherof to lyue in winter. Nedes therfore must we bothe haue pyte vpon and helpe these folkes seinge that they be in worse condisyon than fatherlesse chyl dren destitute of all conforte castawayes of the worlde and as it were certayne ghostes of deade men cryenge for good mennes helpe. Oh very and right poore folkes bothe by name and also in dede all hangynge

on other men whose lyfe and helth lyeth all in other mens handes. These ar they therfore whom we shuld helpe and whom god hath lefte amonge vs to exercyse the wrokes¹ of vertue vpon. These are they whom god wolde [p. 20] we shuld loke vnto seyng that for ignorance they can nat loke to them selues. Oh pytuouse folkes, and suerly worthy vpon whom we shulde shewe pytye and whome we shulde releue and conforte with oure benefycence. And in whome we shulde nat dispyse the same nature whiche the maker of all thinges was contente to take as his own. Trewly these whom we care nothyng for are our owne brether for they haue all one father with vs in heuen and membres with vs of one body quickened with one spirite redemed with one bloude of Christe regenerat of one springe professed to the same sacramentes that we are granysshed² with the same gyftes. Why than (alacke for pytie) do we passe by their herty syghinges with deafe eare? Why doo we with eyes more than blered passe by their lene and shron[p. 21]ken lymmes for hungre hauyng no compassyon as though we had nothyng to do with theym. And thus suffre them dayly to consume and dye through hunger thyrst and nakednesse and that by our defaute: wherfore serueth that sayenge. To the is lefte the poore man to the fatherlesse shalte thou be helper? What doth holye scrypture more often repete and bete into vs than that we shulde vse mercy that we shulde remembre the poore that we shulde releue the decayed and pull into the right way suche as be in errour. If we do nat this surely their vyces shall be imputed as well and more to vs than to theym. Therefore it is both semyng and expedyente that some men be appoynted (as we

¹ *Sic.*² *Sic.*

se done to pupilles) to loke vnto them and to socoure their necessyties, that they so eased frome the weyghte of [p. 22] their miseryes they maye fele lesse payne than they did before. For if it be reason that a gentelle-mans chylde shulde haue a tutour or creanser¹ appoynted to loke to him, yea and if brute bestes have kepers as the shepe a shepherde the Neat a neteherd and so of other. Why I praye you do these nedy folkes (that ar men as well as we) alone of all other wander vp and downe without tutoure or keper? doubtlesse for as moche as they haue no pryuate ouerseers to loke vnto them it is necessary that there be ordeyned a comen prouisyon for them lest if they be nat looked to but be thus dyspyed: they consume and be loste whom (if we knew what brotherly charytie requyreth) we ought nat onely to ease of their calamitie but also to preserue that they shulde fele no grefe, for though that pouerty be acompanyed with many [p. 23] incommodityties yet a great parte of them is taken away by subuentyon whan one helpeth or conforteth another. And bycause that no man alone hath so great wytte nor so great substance that he is able to do thys thyng: therefore it was nedefull to haue manye mennes helpe whiche lyke comen tutours shall ordre and rule the comen benefyte of the cytie by the hole voyces and comen agrement of the same.

¶ *By themperours commaundement valyaunt beggers shulde be banyshed the realme.*

Bycause that the canon lawes do determine that almes shulde be giuen to feble and weake persones to suche as are broken with sykenes or forgone in yeres and to them that throughe impotency be nat [p. 24] able

¹ guardian.

to get their lyuynge : and seing also that the same lawes reken those hole and stronge persones that take almes as theues and robbers : therfore the most gentle emperour folowyng the Canonycall decrees for the ease of his people hathe ordeyned these stoute beggers (for the horrible offences that they many times do commytte) to be banysshed hys realme : that by that meanes whan they had no lenger lycence to begge his people shulde be in more quyete and the deuotyon and almose of good men shulde be the more large and plentyful among them that were nedy in very dede. Howbeit hytherto men haue lytell loked on this thyng and the mater hathe ben slepte ouermoch peraduenture through the negligence of them that haue the swerde to fere malefactours and to preserue good men. For there is no man [p. 25] almost (what the cause is I can nat tell) that maketh any inquisytion of the beggers lyuing few men correct their defautes they lette them passe as though they wer vnworthy to be loked vpon : whom whan they do punyshe other whyles they do put them selfe somtyme in great parell and wyne or get no maner profyte by it. But for as moche as that the emperours commaundemente semed nat suffyciente to take awaye all the defautes of all beggers bycause that it concerneth stronge beggers only therfore that the comen errors and folies of other might also be taken awaye it was expedyente to make other ordynaunces by which as by rayles and barres suche as were harmful and noughty might be kepte from pride and wantonnesse.

[p. 26] ¶ *Of the foure prefectes and ouerseers of pore folkes ordeyned by the rightwise senate for the comen profet.*

For as moch as the chefe offyce of a Senate is this nat

only to preserue the commodyties of their comen welthe but also to make it more rycher and goodlyer : therfore to the comen profyte of our cyte we haue thought it good to prouide for our poore people which with their hurtfull beggyng nat onely with euyl maners but also withe other grefes did hurt our publyke welth. And seynge that for our other busynesse we our selues can nat attende it lest by the reason thereof the thing shulde go the lesse forwarde we haue dereed¹ nat without wyse counsell and due aduisement and also good reason to chuse by our comen assentes foure of the chefe of our Cytie [p. 27] men of good name and fame and suche as ar knowen to be trusty and of good lyfe to whom by our auctoryte we haue commytted the dilygent executyon of al suche thinges as belonge to the administration and ouersyght of pore folkes in euery behalf.

¶ *What offycers be commytted to the prefectes of the poore.*

Fyrst of all they shalbe lyke comen parentes to the poore of our cyte and bere towards theym such fatherly fauour as they shulde do to their adoptyue chyl dren (for so ar they in very dede) prouyding for them meate drinke and clothyng and other necessaryes as nede shall requyre with measure and indyfferency : so that euery one hauinge suffyciente to mayntayne nature : nat one in all the cyte be sene to go a beg- [p. 28]gyng. Ouerthis they shal warne these recheles idle and wyld wanderers that do good neither to theymselfe nor to other and whiche were wonte to wast the frutes of the erth that they tourne to a better ordre and lyue more temperantly and that they subdue and holde vnder the tickelyng of pleasure with the exercyse of

¹ *Sic*, presumably "decreed."

sparyng. They must also shewe them ofte and many tymes that nothyngel belongeth to poore men so moch as to lyue temperantlye and honestly. Besydesforth these gluttons that haue neither consyderation nor wit nor care nat for their owne busynes but spende al rasshly must be tolde that they take hede to their owne householde. For no charme is there more stronge than good exhortacion for that prouoketh and pricketh such as knowe their defautes to tourne many tymes and to amende. To this [p. 29] also must these prefectes loke in especyall that yonge men (every one accordyngly as his nature is) either be set to scole where they mayerne both to knowe christ and also good lernynge or if their wytte wyll nat serue them thervnto than appointe and set them to handy raftes¹ where they may lerne one occupatyon or other by the whiche they may be able to get their lyuinge all the dayes of their lyues after. Of this thinge shall ryse two commodyties wynnynge and gettyngel to the yonge men by their dilygence and labour and to our cytie gret glory for that they suffre no idelnesse to be amonge them. Xenophon telleth very wysely that the cheife hope of a publyke welthe consysteth and is in honest bringynge vp of chyldren and that it maketh no small mater with what maners and craftes they be brought vp. [p. 30] Truely it is a greater thing and a better to be well taught than to be well borne. Moreouer these vntaught olde felowes worne and spent in noughtynes whiche haue spentel their youth vngracyously in erroures and blyndnesse must be holpen and counselled to come to the right path of vertue. And yonge folkes that are corrupted through euyll felowship and company that haunte and vse noughtye places losynge bothe their money and

¹ *Sic.*

soules: the prefectes must so handle that they shall haue no lust after to kepe company with vnthrifites. These stronge and lustye beggers also which haue no luste to worke for their lyuinges they shall compell to handy workes lest to the hurte bothe of them selues and also of the comen welth they synfully nourisse their pernycyouse idlenesse of good mennes almose and so take [p. 31] profyte of other mennes laboure. Fynally it shall belonge to their offyce to admonisse the rasshe and vnruley folkes with good reason and counsell and such as wyll nat be obedyent to correcte theym mesurablye with the rodde of iustyce (so as mete is) lest without correction they waxe and growe worse. For iudges and lawes in Cyties were ordeyned for nothings els but that such as dyd amysse shulde be punysshed accordynge to iustyce.

¶ *Of the open settinge of these prefectes to here entreate and determyne poore mennes causes.*

And that they may the better contente many mennes myndes it shalbe conuenient that twise in euery weke they mete and sytte togyther in a house that euery man may be suffred to passe throughe. [p. 32] And ther to entreate openly poore mens causes where they shall gently and without any sowre or grim countenaunce receyue all that make complaintes either iustly and truly or els iniustly and vntruly and also the maner of their complayntes so that none be he neuer so frowarde depart thens without conforte and ease nor as nere as reason wyl suffre excepte he haue his purpose.

It is surely a goodlye and a laudable thinge for great and noble men to be occupied in such comen busynesse whiche shulde nat therfore be lothed bicause ther be only the homlye and lowe maters of poore men loked

on: but rather ar somoche the more to be estemed and wayed for that suche labours are taken and executed onely for the loue of god without any gayne wynnynge or temporall rewarde. Poore men no [p. 33] doute are membres of the cyte as wel as ryche and they shulde be looked vpon a great dele the more for that they haue more nede than other and for that the poore mennes profyt may the better be furthered without contencion and all thinges be done by the wyse aduyse and auctorite of many men: Yt is thought lawfull and conueniente that the curates of chirches and also other prechers ye and also all of the clergy which we call spyritualtye (to whom chefully is commytted the cure of pore men) shuld be exhorted and called to this comen syttyng that so the comen cause of the pore may be furthered by the comen helpe both of the spiritual and of the temporall. For thaduyses of many wyse men ioyned togyther helpe very moche to open and make playne doutfull maters and are very necessary to compasse and [p. 34] conuey harde and high busynesses for no one man alone perceyueth all. Therefore properly writeth the philosopher in the third of the polytykes Two sayd he ar better than one.

¶ *Of the subprefectes and vnder offycers ordeyned to loke to the pore men.*

That this harde busynes this¹ begon may the better and more dilygently be handled we thouzt¹ it nedfull that these prefectes chuse vnto them to helpe this mater of euery parisshe suche foure as longe haue vsed to loke to poore men and to distrybute almose and suche as both ar mete for the rowme and also haue a greate zeale and desyre to helpe pore folkes. Whan these were chosen their offyce was appoynted to them by the

¹ *Sic.*

prefectes to visyte the poore houses shoppes and cotages of [p. 35] the poore and nedyns and to marke surely where what and howe moche helpe euery one neded. Yea and ouer this by certayne tokens and coniectures to get the knowlege of their condicyon their helth their homly and secrete grefes their maners and (as nere as can be) their merytes and to write these in a boke or tables ordeined for the same purpose. And at a day assygned to present the somme of the thinge to the chefe prefectes of the poore.

¶ *Of the execution of the subprefectes offyce.*

These men doinge their offyce dilygently anon serched out all thinges in so moche that whan they were asked what nombre of pore folkes were in the cyte they answered that the nombre was moch more than coulde be with ease mayntayned and prouided for. And therefore [p. 36] to susteyne them it was nede to ordeyne a comen thesaurye by the rulers and Senate and that might thus easely be brought to passe.

¶ *By what waies this money shulde be collected and gathered.*

The poore mennes collectours euery man in his parishe ones in the weke shall go to euery mannes house to aske almys for the poore. Lykewyse vpon holydayes chiefely at seruyce tyme they shal desyre of euery man his deuotyon to helpe the poore men. Besydes this in euery churche (after the olde maner) shalbe set a boxe wherin euery man shall put priuely what he wyll. And it shall nat a lytell helpe to the encrease of this sayde subsidy to be gathered for the poore if the curates and comen prechers do put to [p. 37] their helpe and counsell to the same as well in open sermons as in priuate com-

municatyon. In as moche as their lyuely voyce hath more efficacitie strength and credence than the syghinges and sobbynges of a thousande complayntes of the pore men and dothe more good than the heuy and pytuouse outcryes of the wretched bodyes. Also it shulde helpe well this thinge if that parte of almose that cometh of comen doles and generall festes and the resydue of goodes nat bequethed but lefte to an vncertayne vse were put into the comen boxe for poore men all other partes beyng faithfully bestowed accordynge to the ordynance and wyll of the founders.

¶ *A commaundement that poore men shall kepe at home and natte ronne wandringe aboute.*

[p. 38] By these meanes whan so moche money was ones gotten by the peoples fre and redy lyberalyte in this behalfe as was thoughte inough to begynne this ordynaunce and was able to helpe the present necessyte of the poore folkes: than this decre was promulgate and proclaymed by the cryer. We the Senatoures and aldermen of this cyte by the auctorite that we haue in orderynge the comen welth ordeyne and commaunde (suche is oure maner of spekyng) that the comen poore folkes of this our cyte from henseforth leue open beggyng and also kepe their chyldren from the same. And that they be pacyently contented to be prouyded for at home without their labor and to haue meat drinke and clothes as nede shall requyre by mete and honest offycers ordeyned for the same purpose by our comen agremente. [p. 39] If they wyll nat thus than let them nat thinke but to be punisshed after their deseruynges.

¶ *What thinge caused this newe lawe to be named.*

Excepte that euyl maners and vyces by hepes had growen amonge the poore folkes this appoyntment and

ordre of lyuinge were in vayne and shulde nothyng haue neded which was found as an holsome preseruatyue to pull awaye and to hele the poore mennes diseases. For in asmoche as euerywhere these idle and stronge beggers withoute any labour dyd lyue at their pleasure in slouth and idlenesse to the hynderance of many folkes lyke vnprofytable draues¹ etyng other mens meate euer wanderynge euer vnstable without checke or controle of any man without shame withoute [p. 40] correccion ronninge at their pleasure where they wold thinke that it wer laful for them to do what they lyst and such as they had noughtily gotten worse spende in some synfull vse either at dyse or banketyng or in dronkenhip and other vyces nat to be named. For these thinges truly was this lawe inuented that shulde stoppe those errours and shulde reduce and bringe these vnthriftes from idlenesse to labour from pleasure to profyte from wastyng to sparyng from wylde beggyng to well ordred lyuyng. Fortunate therefore is this our polycie whiche lyke other lawes of men beganne of euyl maners.

¶ *How the shamefaced folkes shulde be loked to.*

For as moche as we se many so naturally abashed and ferful that they wyl rather hide their nede [p. 41] than disclose and open it lyuinge at home hardly and scantly : For their cause it is decreed that these secrete and preuy nedions shalbe serched out and such shalbe visyted as ar ashamed to be sene and to them shalbe gyuen that are abashed to take any thing. Yea and men shall go to their houses which dare nether speke to vs nor come to our gates. Nor we thinke it nat best to tary tyll they with losse of that honest shamfastnes be driuen to shewe

¹ *Sic*, drones ?

their owne indygence and nede. But priuely and betymes they muste be holpen lest by our neglygence they be lost whom carefull charyte byndeth vs to helpe. For by no meanes can a man be thought a fauourer of mercy no nat a right christian excepte he perceiue and fele other mennes troubles to greue him as moch as his owne for than shall christen charite wytnesse that we ar membres of one [p. 42] body and heed. If one of vs be euer redy to helpe and ease anothers anguysshe and distresse.

¶ *Of other succoure for the poore in necessitye.*

Besydes all this it shalbe lawfull for oure poore folkes (as euery ones mynde shall serue him) to go vnto anye honest men specyally to these comen officers to the curates to the preachers and to their louynge neybour and shewe them their necessityes that whan the condicyon of their housholde and their penury is ones knowen it maye be shewed forthe to the prefectes. And they ones perceyuing the same shal by and by loke for and spedely prouyde suchethinge as shall appertayne to the subuentyon of the pore men so that they maye haue meate before honger cometh that almis be soner gyuen than carefully asked and [p. 43] that necessitye (whiche many tymes driueth to dishonesty) be preuented with succoure in tyme. It is a late benefyte yea scante a benefyte that is done to a man in necessitye.

¶ *Howe open beggyng may be taken awaye.*

Natwithstandynge that it hath ben many tymes attempted and assayed with many wayes and good lawes to bringe the poore men to a maner of more honest lyuynge yet it coulde nat be brought to pas but all the

labour was lost and all the study came to none effect vntil by the remedye of subuention they came to puttinge downe and takynge away of this beggyng. But nowe through the goodnesse of god and the lyberalyte of deuoute peple the necessytes of men are suffyciently prouyded for by the reson wherof that begginge from dore to dore the synke and puddell of many [p. 44] vyces maye also by honest meanes be taken away for by suche meanes as it maye be prouyded that no man shal have nede: by the same meanes also maye it be brought to passe that no man shall begge. If it be nedful to loke and prouyde that none be wretches in dede: why shulde it nat be also nedefull to prouyde that none by beggyng may seme wretches. If only necessite (as Seneca saith) compelleth the nedy to begge and if there be no gretter cause to begge than lacke or want why shulde it be vnreasonable that the poore folkes whan they be prouyded for all their lyfe shulde be restrayned from this infamy of open beggyng by the lawes of the cyte. What meaneth it that men shulde haue no nede and yet daily as false wretches shuld visyte ryche mennes houses daily walke vp and downe in the stretes vnder [p. 45] pretence of pouertye lyke as suche as had no lyuynge that by euer askynge they might be euer takynge and euer labourynge to haue more than their state requyreth. Trewly it smelleth of knauery yea and it is playne pikynge to aske that sturdely of other men that a man may finde at home without labour or rebuke. A poore man shulde after his degre (which is small and lytell) be contented with lytell: for (wytnessyng saynte Gregory) it is a great pride to aske beyonde the boundes of nede and surely that that is goten either by fayned pouertye or by counterfayted holynesse is craftely stolen. It

shulde therfore be best to folow the sobrenesse and discretion of the holy poore men whiche at Hierusalem in the beginninge of the chirche after they were conuerted to the faith lyued contented with almose [p. 46] that was gyuen them neither ronnynge nor begginge any where but taryenge at home dyd quyetly with thankes giuyng apply themselues to prayer and contemplation.

¶ *Amonge the paynyns beggyng was nat wonte to be alowed.*

Bycause that beggers lyued a slouthfull and an idle lyfe to their owne hurte and other mennes also the polyticall Plato therfore iuged all maner beggers to be put out of his comune weale that there shuld be as fewe idle folkes in it as mighte be. The Massilyans also whom all the worlde estemed very wyse dyde so prouyde for their cytie that neither begger nor yet any other vnprofytable felowe shulde ones entre into it. The rulers also of Athenes had made such puruey- [p. 47]aunce for their cytizens that they mighte nat be suffred to begge anywhere. Moreouer the Romain people was ware that no begger shuld be sene anywhere in the cyte. Besydes all this the Jewes by Moyses lawe were compelled so to haue regarde and respecte vnto the poore that they might nat be driuen to begge to the rebuke of their lawe. For thus it is written. Amonge you shalbe neither begger nor nedye. What thinge than can let but that that thyng maye be done amonge christen men whiche we se so moche commaunded amonges the gentyles.

¶ *Amonge christyanes beggyng of cytizens may laufully be restrayned by lawes.*

That the lycence of comen beggyng may be restrained by Cyuile lawes playnly declareth the [p. 48] excellent

diuine and without doute right synguler lerned man maister John Maior which in the chapter of almose saith thus. If a prince or a comynaltie ordeyne that there be no begger in the countrey (so that there be a prouisyon made for impotente persones) it is done very well and none otherwyse than may lawfully be done. So also dothe the bisshop Graucenser which founde a crafte for hole and stronge men which they might exercise and vse to gette their lyuyng with. And suche as ar broken sore with sycknes or with age and lacke strength to labour he kepeth of almose. And they tary at home prayenge for other.

¶ *An accompte of the money must be made and yelded by the occupyers.*

[p. 49] Bycause that the occupyenge of other mennes money is many tymes had in suspityon and seinge that many by it haue ben slaundred and lyke to haue lost their good name : therefore lest the Prefectes and other occupyers mighte be blamed dyffamed and misreported amonge the people and thought that they dele nat truly. It is well and wisely prouyded by the senat (whiche is in the cyte lyke as the soule in the bodye) that accomptes shalbe made ones or twyse openly before the rulers and heed offycers at tymes certayne of all the money as well gathered as bestowed vpon the poore : that is to wytte one accompte to be made by the prefectes euery halfe yere an other by the subprefectes euery moneth openly before audytours lawfully appointed for the same purpose in suche maner as they vse to ac[p. 50]compte of comen rentes apperteynyng to a cyte or to a prince. God forbyd therfore that any man shuld vnaduysedly rebuke or dyffame suche men as loke for a comen welthe

seinge that themperours maiesty putteth them many tymes in trust with moch more weighty maters as the ordre of a comen welthe or the rule of an hole towne.

¶ *That credence shuld nat lyghtly be gyuen to false accusers.*

For as moche as it is vnresonable to thinke euyl in a good thinge and also bycause it is a rebuke and shame to haue a worse opinyon of our neighbour than we wolde shulde be had of vs amonges other therfore we desyre hertely all men that they wyll gyue no lyghte credence to such accusers that blow [p. 51] abroad amonge the people vncertayne tales for certayne lyes in sted of truth of the delers of the almose but let men folowe themperour Alexandre which gaue one of his eares to the accuser and the other to the defendaunte meanynge by that that he wolde here both their causes lest by lyght credence or ouer redye belefe he might be disceyued.

¶ *Howe bothe strangers and also abydyng poore men shall be holpen.*

Seynge that god approued no thinge more than kyndnesse towards our neibour for he that loueth his neibour fulfylleth the lawe: therfore we thinke that pite shuld be stretched to all pore peple on euery syde but yet in such maner that the ordre [p. 51*] of charytie saued we preferre oure citizens whose persons and maners we knewe before straungers with whom we haue none acquaintance. For we are cheifly bounde to regarde theym bycause they be membres with vs of one politicall body. And nothings letteth vs but that we wolde be as redy to helpe all saue only that our sub-

stance is skante inough to succoure perfytly the nede of our owne pore folkes : moch lesse it is able to suffyce the necessyties of all men.

¶ *Howe strangers and wanderes¹ shalbe intreted in the cyte according as necessytie requireth.*

Forasmoch as we know that straungers ought in no wise to be forgotten we are contented that suche as by any occasyon shall fortune to come hyther be receyued into the [p. 51**] cytie but nat after the olde wonte openly beggyng in stretes and lanes lest if there were place so gyuen to the olde lewde lyberty all our purpose and ordynaunce shulde be dyssolued and broken. We gyue therfore to euery strange poore man so moche as his necessytie requyreth and our substance wyll suffre vs that is to saye vyande to them that passe by. For suche as ar weryed we prouyde meate and drinke and beddes and other necessaryes in comen hospytalles. And suche as be sycke and by the reason of sycknesse haue nat strengthe suffyciente to performe their iourney we entreate fauourablye confortyng and refresshing them. ii. iii. or iiii. dayes or somtyme longer tyll they ware stronge and be able to performe their begon vyages.

¶ *In what cause strangers shalbe admytted to dwell within the cyte.*

[p. 52] Those strangers which onely for thentente to take almose come with a great flocke of children to inhabyt our cytie : we do nat receyue excepte some necessary cause or some great pytuouse mischaunce (suche as happen by warre by shipwrake by burnyng

¹ *Sic.*

or by some other suche parell) ¹ do prouoke vs to receiue them into the nombre of our poore folkes. And of these we take no gretter nombre than oure comen purse is able to mayntayne. For we thinke that there shuld nat be required more of vs than we maye least whyles after an vndyscrete facyon we go aboute to extende our almose vpon all indyfferently at the laste we bringe ourselues to this poynte that we shall nat be of power to helpe nether our owne nor straungers nother. For lyke as no one place in the worlde is able to receyue and con[p. 53]tayne all poore men: So is ther no comen chest any where that is able to sustayne them all.

¶ *No house shall be letten to anye straunger without the consente of the Senate.*

Therefore we haue decreed by an open commaundement that non of our cytyzens presume to let any house to a stranger withoute our knowlege and consente for els by the dayly encrease of pore folkes gretter charge might grow vnto vs than we were able to bere. Other cyties haue their comen hospytalles wherin they may kepe their poore men they haue also almes of comen doles yea and dayly priuat almes they haue also yerely socour bequethed by wyll: It is mete ther[p. 54]fore that they haue some poore folke vpon whom they maye shewe their beneficence and charite lest we might seme as thoughe we wanted to call beggers vnto vs and also to take from other men occasion of exercyse of deuotion wherof we haue inough.

¹ Under this heading would come serious famine, such as that which drove all the poor folk into Lyons in 1531. See below, p. 105.

¶ *Of the benefytes that the poore men of our cytie fele by this comen subuentyon.*

Nowe it semeth mete to tell of the plentiuouse encrease of good ordre and manyfolde benefytes that haue happened to the poore nowe these fyue yeres and more by the meanes of this prouisyon. Firste suche as somtyme were very hardely bestad both in body and mynde being pituously arayed with honger thirste rayne colde sores stynkyng sycknesses sadnesse heuynesse or [p. 55] which otherwise afflicted were sick lyenge sometyme on the grownde somtyme in the felde withoute any conforte counsell helpe or frendes nowe beyng conueniently prouyded for according to their necessitie are better at ease both ways. Such also as many yeres without any gyde ranne in great nombre and hedlonges into distruction now through the helpe of these prefectes ar staied in a vertuouse waye. The yonge men taken from the bytter and sowre crafte of beggyng ar appoynted to an easier waye and haue assygned vnto them a maister to teche theym suche crafte and occupation as they ar mete to and as their wyttes wil serue them. And lykewise the yonge women leste in idlenesse they shulde lerne sluggerdy euery one as they may awaye hathe one occupatyon as to do seruyce to the Cytizens to [p. 55*] dresse the houses to make redy mete and drinke or to do some other profytable thinge and some are bounden apprentyses to lerne suche thinges as is mete for women to do : suche also as nede prouoked to dishonesty the bridle of shamfastnesse broken and clene layde awaye : now hauynge helpe and succour ar kepte vp from fallynge to folye. The housholdes of desperate men are nowe releued with corne with clothynge withe woode and other

necessaries sauynge onely money which many tymes to vnthriftes is occasyon of vyce. For we maye nat gyue to euery man that that he most desyreth but that that he hath most nede of: such as by their handy worke ar nat able to fynde wel their wyfe and bringe vp their chyldren haue gyuen vnto them as moche as is thought inough so that almys supplyeth that that dy[p. 55**]lygente laboure can nat performe. Children which be cast forth whom often tymes the parence vnkyndnes synfully forsaketh the comen kyndnesse of the cytie many tymes receyueth: specyally whan the cause is so resonable that it is worthy to haue helpe and fauoure. For it might happen that (excepte we were ware) by ouermuche kyndnesse euyl men might take occasyon of vngodlynesse and so shulde we (as men saye) laye a pyllowe vnder their synnes. If vndiscretly and prodigally we powred forth our lyberalitye euerywhere. But nowe to tourne to our way out of which we ar somewhat swarued¹ suche as sometyme without regarde either of persone place or tyme dyd with their mad medlynge trouble vnreuerently both church and market and also let goddes seruyce now renewed spiritually [p. 56] and taughte better maners haue in great reuerence and loue both churches and sayntes. Fynally that comen sorte of beggers that longe haue ben forgotten and dyspyed lothsome to all and mocked of all men: yea scarcely taken for men. I wyll nat saye for christen men nowe is brought into a determynate maner of lyuinge and is almost in as good condicyon as the ryche men be.

Shortly so many as fele the benefyte of this subuention ar prouoked to honour god to receyue the sacramentes and to lyue honestly. These and many mo

¹ Swerved.

other commodyties do come of this our polycy of whiche (as Salust sayth of Cartage) better is it to saye nat one worde than to speke to fewe.

¶ *Of the nombre of commodyties that groweth to the Cytyzens by reson of this polycye.*

[p. 57] Nowe shal we at the lest way summarily reherse som commodyties that the Cytyzens fele by the meanes of this polycy. Fyrst (which is plesant to tell) beggary beggers and beggyng these thre greues of the worlde rule nat nowe in the cyte as they dyd before. Parasytes pore men smell festes which to the great hurte of the comen welth dyd abuse good mennes lyberalyte now dysapoynted of the wynnyng that they had by beggyng are brought to a quyet and sobre lyuyng. Such as vsed to bere about in the cytie counterfeyte writynges of some fayned losse gettyng money so by crafte and disceyte nowe feryng the eyes and handes of the prefectes and serchers disceyue nat the Cytizens so ofte as they were wonte to do. Suche as were made lame with slouthfulnes or els stronge inough that somtyme [p. 58] founde themselfe with beggyng and so refused to labour with their handes now beyng forbeydden beggyng tourne agayne to worke in shoppes and to profytable laboure puttyng no longer trust in begging euyll idlenesse is changed with good busynesse craftes mennes shoppes nowe ar better furnished euery man is fully occupied: such as wer nat ashamed to gather grasse of other mennes substance and swete: nowe better mynded almost fynde themselfe with their owne labour. They that had delyte to waste all that they had at tables dyse and dronkenshyp (I wyll name no worse) nowe studye to thriue and get good at home with sparyng and from home with labour they

haue now forgotten the crafte to lyue of other mens cost. Now prouisyon is founde for the quyetnesse and shamfastnes of good men. The riche [p. 59] mennes houses are nat haunted with these idle Parasytes. The dores are nat knocked the eares ar nat dulled with beggers bewaylynges. The churches ar nat robbed the alter clothes ar nat stolen euyll men do les harme good men lyue more at quyet : nether so many myschiefes ne yet so many outrages ar committed and done almis is nat wronge out by vyolence the symple people is nat disceyued by craft and falshed no man taketh the Cytyes beneuolence from the weake ones. No shamelesse felowe snatcheth the rewarde that is appointed for good men. No man begileth the pore ryche men fere nat now lest they shulde fede with their benefytes idle belly guttes nat worthy their bred al occasyon of such suspisyon is taken away seinge that men know wel that such as is giuen is nat abused but spent in good vse. Churches chappels and [p. 60] oratories dedycate for goddes seruyce voyded clerely of the confuse noyse and crauynge wordes of beggers ar nowe resorted vnto in sylence peace and quyetnesse : oure prayers to god are nat dysturbed with anye noyse or cryenge or other comberous busynesses. At gates also and churche porches the dysfygured syghtes of these vysured pore men ar nat now sene all roughe and scouruy and ronnynge with matter bothe vgely to loke on and euyll smellynge to the nose and ouer that to some tender stomakes lothsome. Ouer this the comen welth hath nowe lesse hurte and lesse corruptyon that so many sore folkes be gone the helth of the cytie is nowe more safe. The contagyouse folkes are by theymselve whose infection often times priuely crepynge as a canker hathe caused moche deth in the people hathe put [p. 61] many in

ieoperdye of lyfe yea and hath lefte in manye vncurable steppes of their poyson. Those that are syckly and weke folkes ar holpen by phisycions and surgions that whan they be ones restored to theire olde helth they maye be able to endure labour and to gette their lyuyng : so suche as ar brasten such as haue the stone suche as ar diseased in their faces or otherwyse greued ar made hole of the comen coste and charge and that great. So nowe is almes more plentuouse than it was before by the reason that beyng well bestowed it bringeth with itselfe quietnesse counsell and helpe where nede is : it putteth also men in a surety of lyuyng and prouoketh them to godlynesse. And after this maner in one good turne doynge another is sown and of one good dede many are reaped. All the almes is gy[p. 62]uen in comen that many therof may take parte eueryone somoch as shal be inough for him. Nowe for al this no man is letted to do good dedes but euery man if he wyll may gyue almys priuately to whom he lysteth.¹ The people is called vpon with often exhortations that euery man accordynge to his state and as the tyme requyreth sende vnto the poore folkes their broken metes and suche as be lefte at their dyners soupers and great festes specyally to suche as ar syckely and feble yea and let them nat sende only the broken metes but let them rather sende a messe or two of meat euen purposely appoynted for theym that so the Cytyzens chyl dren maye lerne to vysyte and loue the poore mennes lytell cottages and the good man of the house and the good wyfe maye remembre that the burdayne of their [p. 63] neygbours calamyties muste be releued nat onely with almys but also with their presence in visytyng confortynge

¹ This satisfies the Sorbonne requirement that private almsgiving must not be prohibited in any circumstances. See below, p. 77.

helpynge and in executynge the dedes of pytie. Nowe the ryche men earnestlye fauoure the poore bycause they ar nat troubled as sometyme whan onely almoste compelled by importunytie they gaue their almys. The poore men agayne loueth the ryche man as hys benefactoure of whom he hathe his lyuynge and by whose ayde he is holpen him he thanketh for all that he hathe to him he gyueth manye blessinges and good prayers as a token of gratytude and he rendereth theym hertely and as lyberally as he can. For no other cause dyd nature mengle poore and ryche togyther but that poore men shulde receyue benefytes of ryche men. [p. 64] And the ryche shuld take of god the frute of their benefytes with moche lucre and encrease. Wherto shulde we make many wordes now is the crosse of pouerty moche more easye to be borne seyng that no man (excepte he refuse helpe) feleth famen or any nede eueryone is so prouyded for that no man nede to begge so that he wyll be content to take without labour as moche as is inoughe for nature. Truely it is an euydent token of excellent godlynesse whan the cytie lyke a comen parent handeleth so her membres : nay nat her membres only but the membres of Christe or rather Christe himselfe and so nourisheth at home that they be no where herde in hyghe wayes no where sene in stretes puttyng out their hedes to take almes. What thinke ye ismore vnsemyng than to se a great parte of Christen men [p. 65] euerywhere askynge of euery man their almes as though through our impietie they were forgotten withoute conforte and with no helpe releued in their necessitye. But nowe by the hygh prouydence of god the poore men is in better condicyon a great dele : for all men busely labour to helpe him as one that is sente of god vpon whom euery man maye fynde mater and

occasion to practise vertue. These commodityties of oure polycy haue we here shewed the more at large that they may be the better knowen: for the nature of a good thinge is suche that the broder it be spred the more commoditie cometh of it.

¶ *How this policy may be preserved.*

Bycause that this polycye lyke other lawes of men is a gyde towardes godlynesse therefore we [p. 66] shulde take hede that it be nat hurte with importable and ouer great charges whiche thinge maye easely be broughte to passe this one waye if some famylyes and companyes of straunge poore folkes be nat admitted to dwell in our Cytie: For if all shulde be receyued both the multitude and also the cost shuld growe more and more. And it were better nat ouer redily to receyue some than whan they ar ones admytted to cause bothe them and other to pyne and starue for hunger and so to bringe them all and also thys good ordynaunce into ruyne and decaye and we shulde nat haue so moche regarde to the fewe euyls that shuld come of the puttynge oute of a fewe as we shulde haue to the manye commodityties that come to many of our neybouris by the meanes of this prouydence. For (wytnesse saynte Au[p. 67]gustyne in his boke of trewe relygyon) he that can nat helpe all them that he loueth onlesse he helpe them that ar nerest vnto him he is iniust. Therefore this lytell dyscommodityte must be suffred pacyently seing that it is recompensed with the manifolde profytes of many men. Also whan there happen two commoditytes wherof the one is a great dele better than the other and we be nat able to kepe both as to kepe as well straungers as cytizens (which bycause of lytell substance we can by no meanes do) than good reason telleth that we shulde leue the lesse

to kepe the more and thus it is vsed in euery good polycye or commune weale.

¶ *Of the stedfastnesse of this polycye.*

And bycause all thyng that apperteyneth to the subuentyon of poore men are nowe in the cytye executed with dilygent cure trewe faythfulnesse and agreynge myndes : we trust that seyng nowe it hath ben alowed this fyue yeres and is accordinge to natural equite and also is approued by the comen consent of the multytude it shall nat decaye but that standynge the charyte of the people towards poore folke it also shall stande sure and vnshaken. Nowe charite shall stande if the poore holde their tonges and the prechers contynually speke and make meanes for theym. And thus shall they also in other mennes busynesse profyte themselfe. Thus shall they get fauour of god and loue of the people : for els neither shall they do their offyce suffycientlye ne yet can they suffyce the longynge of the [p. 69] deuoute people tyll bendynge themselfe hertely to this ordynance they mayntayn the poore mennes causes exhortynge in their sermons all ryche men that with their habundaunce they wyll supply the wante of the nedyons. For whatsoeuer we haue superflouse it serueth nat for vs but to bringe vp other as it appereth playnlye by an example of nature for lyke as the superfluytie of nourishment nature worketh to the production and nourishyng of like in kynde. So also of the superfluytie of our goodes good reason iugeth after thexample of nature that poore men lyke to vs in kinde shuld be nourisshed and holpen-

¶ *That it is a very harde busynes to prouyde for poore men.*

[p. 70] We perceyue wel that this comen offyce to prouyde for poore men is harder than men thinke con-

syderynge that it can nat be dewly executed without great dilygence studye and wisdom. And therfore bycause great commodytie cometh of it it requyreth also great men and such as minde more the comen welth than their owne profyte. Now this is nat spoken that any man shulde be afraide to take vpon him this busynesse but rather that they shulde be forewarned that before they take vpon them so great a weyght they take aduys with good delyberation whether they be mete for it or nat. For it is nat so harde but that throughe goddes goodnesse and the lyberalyte of the people it maye both be prosperously obserued and longe contynued withoute decaye. For it [p. 71] chaunseth many tymes that thinges in the beginnyng harde after longe experyence at the last by contynuanse of time and by custome waxe and become plesaunt.

¶ *Of frowarde poore folkes.*

Nowe must we somewhat speke of frowarde poore folkes which lyke stiffneckid rebuke this law that interrupteth and letteth beggyng and compleyne as thoughe their ryght were taken from them that they can nat haue lybertye to begge whiche whan they had in tymes past they dyd what they wolde they wandred at their pleasure ronnyng vp and downe and rekeninge nothings vnlawfull for them. But this is nat (as they thinke) lybertie whan euery man may do as he lyst but it is rather vnthrifty lycence by [p. 72] which (as the poet Therence saith) All we ware worse for true lyberte is ruled by reason: which consydereth nat howe moch or what lyketh but euer loketh what is conuenient. Therefore if they wyll fall to rekenyng and consyder the thinge aright they nede nat to compleyne seyng that they haue an honest lyuyng and inough for

nature: for though they haue nat inough for their pleasure yet haue they to contente measure and suffycient to do their nedes that is to wytt to fynde themself and to bringe vp theire chyl dren in so moche that ye may here many of them say that they wolde nat euen desyre gretter substaunce but thanke god for this lyberalyte frely gyuen to them and are glad that beggyng is prohibyted and forbydded.

¶ *The protestatyon of the Hyperyan rulers.*

[p. 73] Here we protest that we haue nat taken this harde waye of prouisyon bicause it shulde be losse or preiudyce to anye man but that sauynge the right of euery ordre euery mans state and degre that parte of our Cytie whiche hitherto hath ben without ayde forgotten dispised and destytute of al helpe and conforte might be receyued into ordre and rule of our cytie and be better regarded: So that this parte also ones well ordred: the hole corps or body of our comen welth which by goddes prouydence we haue taken to gouerne and beautifye whan it is ones perfytely hole in all membres and garnished with lawfull and conuenient ornamentes might so in good state growe encrease and florisse wherby god shulde the more reuerently be worshipped and the glorie of oure Cytie perpetually renowned¹: nor [p. 74] we are nat mynded to be bounde so straytly to these counsels that no profyte nor necessitye shall cause vs to leue the ordre of these wordes: but euer the purpose of this our institutyon obserued (to our powre) whiche standeth in an homely and quyet subuentyon and helpynge for poore men. If any reason or cause conceyued by the discrete aduyse of lerned men or compassed by the iugement of great wyse men

¹ *Sic.*

or any occasyon of profyte or necessytie shall moue and perswade vs to adde minysshē or chaunge any thinge : we wyll nat be loth to omytte and let go one or two circumstances so that other for them either more profytable for vs or better for the pore folkes aduauntage be supplied and put in their stede.

¶ FINIS.

PRINTED AT LONDON BY THOMAS GODFRAY.
Cum priuilegio Regali.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE YPRES SCHEME.

1. *The Judgement of the Sorbonne.*¹

The main conclusion is "we hold that the system of poor relief which the Magistrates of Ypres have instituted is severe but valuable ; it is healthy and pious, and not inconsistent either with the Gospel or with the example of the Apostles or of our forefathers."

The following points also occur in the judgement :

"First of all, this system should be administered with such diligent care as will ensure that all the poor who look to the city for help shall be duly and adequately provided for, and that none, whether natives or strangers, shall by reason of it be reduced to the last stage, or nearly the last stage, of destitution. Consequently public mendicancy ought not to be prohibited where the Common Chest might run short of funds ; nor are the rich to be relieved of their obligation of helping the poor, just because a Common Chest has been established, if they know of any who are submerged in extreme, or

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 33. The judgement in its Latin form will be found in Ratzinger, *op. cit.* pp. 443-4.

nearly extreme, destitution. Nobody by reason of this prescribed system is to be forbidden to give, or hindered from giving, of his substance to the poor either secretly or in public, nor must any fine or penalty be imposed on those who perform works of charity for the poor. Furthermore, let folk be admonished constantly, and that by public exhortation, to give to the poor of the gifts they have received from the Lord, promptly and with cheerful countenance. The secular magistrates are to take care that they do not presume under cloak of piety or help for the poor to embark on sacrilege and take to themselves the goods and revenues of churches or priests; for this would be the part not of good Catholics but of impious heretics, Waldensians, Wycliffites or Lutherans.

“ Public begging on the part of such members of the Mendicant Orders as have been approved by the Church is on no account to be forbidden. The poor of neighbouring villages are on no account to be excluded by this scheme from the relief that is due to them, since in spite of all their labour they are so poor that they cannot from their own labour buy their daily bread.

“ These criticisms are not put forward with a view to upsetting this new scheme, for it is framed to contribute greatly at this time to the quiet and homely relief of the poor, and much good may result from it and much harm be averted. But this scheme of poor relief should not be considered as final and as though it were in all respects to be treated as an unchangeable law of nature, from which no departure is admissible at any time or for any reason; rather should its interpretation and modification be left to the careful judgement of discreet and pious persons, such as know how to form their decisions in accordance with the require-

ments of place and time, personal considerations and such-like circumstances."

2. Part of the *In laudem Civitatis Hyprensis* of Jacques van Meyere is printed below, in which the poet, if such he can be called, explains the wonders performed by the new system : no beggars are to be seen in the city, the churches no longer ring with their lamentations, nor are their "lurid members" a source of offence to the public ; on the contrary, how happy now are the poor, for idleness has been banished as well as destitution. All this has been done by a pious law, inspired not so much by Plato or Lycurgus as by Christian charity. The relevant part is given below in the original, not so much for its intrinsic merits as because it is probably the only poem on the subject of poor relief written in a classical language and metre.¹ van Meyere also wrote an extravagant praise of van Praet beginning :

O Ludovice parens et consolatio nostra,
Rebus et afflictis spes unica et anchora tuta

together with a more sober estimate (in prose) of the Ypres Scheme (*Flandricarum Rerum*, tom. x. 1531).

publica pauperibus succurrit cura misellis
dextramque largam porrigit ;
nullus in hac tota mendicis cernitur urbe,
o nunc beati pauperes.
nec jam templa crepant miserorum vocibus ulla,
o institutum nobile.
non lamenta fores complent, non lurida membra,
nullæ querelæ compita.
tollitur improbitas nebulonum, tollitur omnis
ars vafra pseudopauperum ;

¹ It is the same metre as Horace, *Epodes* 14 and 15, namely, an hexameter followed by an iambic dimeter catalectic.

torpida segnitie multorum causa malorum,
 procul migrare cogitur ;
stirps inopum nil grex nisi perditur ante, probatos
 mores et artes imbibit.
utile decretum, pia lex et sanctio frugi,
 et mos saluber civibus.
haec vos perdocuit non tam Plato sive Lycurgus
 quam Christiana Charitas.

III

LUTHER'S *ORDINANCE FOR A COMMON CHEST*

LEISNIG is a small town in Saxony, half-way between Dresden and Leipsic. Not many miles away lie the ruins of the convent of Nimbschen, where Catharine von Bora lived from 1509 to 1523. Catharine later became Luther's wife, and it is therefore interesting to find the Reformer accepting the invitation of the citizens of Leisneck (as it then called itself) to visit them in 1522 and assist them in revising the whole conduct of church services and the method of appointment of pastors, and in dealing at the same time with the problems of vagrancy and poverty. In 1523 the Common Chest was set up. In April of the same year Catharine escaped from her convent, along with eight other nuns who had adopted the Evangelical faith; but although Luther defended their action and collected money for their maintenance, the idea of marriage had not then entered his head nor did it, apparently, for another two years.

The Ordinance which established the Common Chest was drawn up by Luther in conjunction with the leading citizens of Leisneck, and is a mixture of projects for ecclesiastical reform and measures for poor relief. It specifies the sources of income for the Common Chest, viz., money previously devoted to church purposes, free-will offerings made in church, legacies, and also a compulsory rate levied on all parishioners. This last is an unusual feature, as the other schemes we have had under

review all emphasise the essentially voluntary nature of almsgiving. The Ordinance also describes the method of administration, which is to be in the hands of ten guardians or overseers, democratically elected. It deals, too, with problems of vagrancy and poverty, practically abolishing the former and showing how relief is to be administered to poor people and beggars out of the Common Chest. The whole scheme is worked out in detail, including even arrangements for the locking up of the chest, and is an illustration in miniature of how purely lay measures of social reform were the natural outcome of the Reformation. It excited much notice throughout Protestant Germany; it was clearly the direct inspiration of the Württemberg "Chest Ordinance" of 1536¹ and, outside the limits of Protestantism, influenced the Imperial Decree of 1531 and the Austrian Ordinance of 1542.

For all his homely domesticity, Luther was well aware of the part money played in the world. There is attributed to him a curious little "macaronic" quatrain :

Qui non habet in nummis

Dem hilft nicht dass er from ist.

Qui dat pecuniam summis

*Der macht wohl schlecht, was krumm ist.*²

He had already advocated the prohibition of begging in his "Appeal to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation" in 1520. In between this and the Leisneck Ordinance of 1523, various towns in Germany had begun to get to work. Augsburg, Altenburg and Nuremberg

¹ The text of this will be found in the *Sammlung der Württembergischen Gesetz*, ed. Reyscher, Bd. xii., Tübingen 1841. It imposes a rigid censorship of morals and prohibits the wearing of costly clothes. Altogether it bears very much the marks of an order issued *de haut en bas*. Another set of orders was issued in 1552.

² Piety is no help to a man if he is penniless, but he who gives bribes in high places is doing an evil, crooked work. Quoted by Wiskemann, *Darstellung der in Deutschland . . . National-ökonomischen Ansichten*, p. 52.

tried to suppress mendicancy in 1522 ; Strassburg, Regensburg¹ and Kitzingen (a small town in Franconia) in 1523 ; Magdeburg in 1524 ; Baden-Baden in 1528.² In addition to its six Guardians of the Poor, Augsburg had seen the foundation in 1519 by the three Fugger brothers of that curious little town inside a town, the Fuggerei, which still remains as a pleasant haunt for the tourist : it consists of six streets of neat, white houses, with a fountain at the cross-roads, and is enclosed in its own walls with four entrance gates and a church of its own : it was originally intended as a haven of refuge for retired employés and dependents of the Fugger family.³ It is not without significance that the city which first took advantage of the tremendous possibilities of the new capitalistic ventures should also have been one of the first to realise the necessity in modern conditions for some sort of poor relief.

Nuremberg was also, of course, a city which rose to great wealth at this time. Its ordinances of 1522 are the final stage in a process that had been going on for some time.⁴ In 1363, or thereabouts, it had followed the example of Colmar (which had made rules in that year) and had forbidden begging save by such as were unable to get work : these were to be enrolled in a book and were to wear a special badge,⁵ and had to renew their license every six months. For those who were allowed to beg in churches, the part on each side of the main entrance-door was allotted. In July 1478, a further batch of Ordinances appears.

¹ 1524, according to Ashley ; but see Ratzinger, *op. cit.* p. 394.

² At Baden-Baden pilgrims might beg for one day only, but poor folk coming for the baths might beg for three weeks if they got special permission.

³ When I saw it last (in September 1925) the streets had been flooded with a heavy shower, but the houses were gay with window-boxes and it seemed a real abode of peace. A notice at the gates announced that shouting and playing in the streets were (need it be said ?) *am strengsten verboten*.

⁴ Ratzinger, *op. cit.* p. 394.

⁵ Perhaps the first instance of this device, which later became as we have seen, almost universal.

There is to be now *no* begging in churches, but only *outside* the church door or in the streets.¹ Anyhow, only the "impotent" may beg, and children over eight years of age are not to be taken about by beggars. Those who are ashamed to beg by day may have special licenses for evening begging, but they must carry a light with them. Any who are not actually blind or crippled must be prepared to do spinning or other easy work, if offered it. Beggars may "sing out for alms" as they go along the road, but must be quiet if they stand still or sit down, nor may they make display of pictures or "remarkable animals," and open sores must be covered up, so as not to offend the public eye or nose.² Poor children may also go along the street singing, if they are specially recommended by their teachers, but they are not to stop in front of any house where a notice is displayed indicating that the occupants object! Such fastidious householders pay, however, a fixed contribution in lieu of alms.³

The "Ordinance for a Common Chest" shows clearly the influence Luther had on the development of the modern German language. Hence the translation has purposely retained some of the redundant and cumbersome sentences of the original. Certain paragraphs containing matter which is comparatively irrelevant or purely repetitive are given in summarised form only.⁴

¹ In 1522 begging is allowed only on the Festivals of All Saints and All Souls.

² Failure to do this has already been noticed (*e.g.* by Vives and at Ypres) as one of the most unpleasant features of uncontrolled mendicancy.

³ Kriegk, *Deutsches Bürgerthum im Mittelalter*, p. 147.

⁴ The translation is made from the *Ordnung eines gemeinen Kasten*, Luther's *Werke*, Band xii., ed. P. Pietsch.

LUTHER. ORDINANCE FOR A COMMON CHEST.

In the Name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity,
Amen.

We, "honourable men¹," the council, quartermasters, aldermen, and ordinary inhabitants of the city and of the parish association of villages and of the parish of Leisneck, by the Grace of Almighty God have obtained from the revelation of the Gospel of Christ's evangelist not only a sure belief but also a certain knowledge, to wit that all inward beliefs and outward actions of believers in Christ should increase the glory of God and manifest brotherly love, not seeking after the good opinion of men but following always the ordering of divine truth.

Know therefore and make known here and now, that, having heard the timely counsel of learned men, we, for our selves and our descendants, have set up and determined on this brotherly union as set forth in this our ordinance. For we have even now fairly established it and shall see to it that it is faithfully and eternally kept up.

Installation of the Parsons in Office.

We will not and must not at any time exercise and use our Christian freedom otherwise than in accordance with the doctrines and prescriptions of Holy Writ, and all that concerns the installation of our parsons in office, the appointment, election, investiture, and dismissal of our curates, shall be done solely for the sake of preaching the word of God and administering

¹ Erbarmanne.

the sacrament. And by such truly religious behaviour, befitting men poor, simple, learned in Holy Scripture, submissive in true humility to well founded instruction and advice, we shall prove ourselves obedient to this clear ordinance which is in our keeping and which is to remain unaltered.

Concerning the Hearing of God's Word.

We wish and desire also that each parishioner in our parish shall be pledged to ensure for himself, his children and domestic servants in Christian love that they listen to the healing and consoling word of God on the days and at the hours arranged (so God grant us his Grace) and think on it for their spiritual benefit.

Concerning the Advancement of the Honour and Glory of God.

For the glory of God, we hereby decree and desire that parishioners (so may God grant us his blessing) keep feast days, each in his house, for himself, his children and servants. Blasphemy against God in public, excessive drinking, harlotry, cheating at dice, and other sins and vices, which are absolutely and deliberately contradictory to God's command, they must earnestly shun, prevent and avoid. If a few of our community should be marked by carelessness or indolence in these matters, a whole parish gathering should be empowered to undertake, through a suitable medium, with the help of the magistrates the administration of fitting punishment and the improvement of their spiritual condition.

Means, Provision and Revenue of the Common Chest.

It is through our Christian faith that all good things are obtained for time and for eternity from the Ever-

lasting God through the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ. In order, therefore, that this our faith may be suitably expressed in brotherly love, and that this same love may be led into channels of truth and works of kindly benevolence, we, the first summoned common parish gathering, have ordered, raised and set up, in complete unanimity, a common chest. This chest is to be ordered, raised, and set up forthwith in the strength of this our brotherly union, in significance, measure, and formation, as follows :

For the means and provision of the common chest the following specified articles, rents, goods, privileges, gold and possessions, shall be everywhere commandeered, collected and brought together, to rest and remain in the common chest, bestowed on it and incorporated in it, for all time.

Income of Goods and Privileges from God's House.

The four altar offerings in God's house, as soon as the present altar priests die or the offerings are otherwise unused, shall no longer be given away, but, along with the goods, settlements, income, emoluments, jewels and moveable property, with the written documents, memoranda and registers, belonging to them shall be brought to the common chest. And offerings at celebrations, feast days, during Corpus Christi or the Octaves, and other specified donations and almsgivings for hospitals and other institutions shall be put into the common chest.

Income from Fraternities.

Whatever ready money, rents, jewels, silverwork, property and moveable goods have been hitherto collected by the famous brotherhoods of the " Kaland,"

St. Ann, and the "Schwkechte," and belong to the same, along with written documents, memoranda and registers (from all parts), shall be henceforth set aside for the use of the common chest, therein to remain.

Income from Pious Gifts of Handicraft and Peasants.

Deposits, privileges of the guilds, appeals, compensation-money, fines, penances and whatever has hitherto been collected in our common parish, in towns from craftsmen, and in the villages from peasants as gifts to God for future needs, shall everywhere be collected and put into the common chest.

Income consisting of Food and Money in the Alms Chest.

There shall be ordered for God's house and kept in place for all time, two casks or council chests in which bread, cheese, eggs, meat and other food and provisions shall be placed; and there shall also be a box or two wherein money may be put for the upkeep of the common chest. In the same way alms and generous charities, asked for by two of our number set apart for that purpose for all time, for the upkeep of the poor when our parish is gathered together in God's house, shall be put at once in such a box and applied to such a use. And provisions which are in danger of spoiling shall be shared out (in cases of necessity among the poor without favouritism) by the persons elected, measured according to their command. But what will keep until the next Sunday shall be retained, and then shared out for the use and comfort of the poor.

Income from Days of Healing and Death-beds.

Other free will offerings from days of healing and from wills made on death-beds, as long as they are made

for the honour of God and love of mankind, with Christian devotion, whether in goods, ready money, jewels, goods or property, shall completely and entirely be placed in this common chest and remain there. Payments also made as a result of faithful exhortations from our pastors in the pulpit and elsewhere, and gifts made on sick-beds while men are in possession of their faculties shall be given to the common chest, with the permission of the expectant heir, provided this is honestly obtained.

How to arrange the Administration of the Common Chest.

The administration of the common chest shall also be arranged and provided for ; namely, once a year, on the Sunday after the octave of the Feast of the Three Kings, about eleven o'clock, a common parish gathering may and shall be held in the Guild-hall in order to elect, by the grace of God, in true Christian faith, in complete unanimity, ten supervisors or overseers, the most able without distinction of persons from the whole assembly for the common chest. To wit—two “honourable men,” two from the governing council, three from the common burgesses of the town, and three from the peasants on the land. These ten so chosen shall at once take up and lay upon themselves with goodwill the burden of this supervision and guardianship, namely, to handle for our parish community its administration, income, and expenditure for the sake of God and the common good, with a clear Christian conscience, laying aside all considerations of fear, favour, malice, profit or other likely motive. This they are pledged to carry out.

Closing of the Chest with Four Separate Locks.

This common chest and receptacle shall be kept in a safe place in God's house and shall be closed with four different and particular keys and locks, so that the "honourable men" have one, the councillors one, the town burgesses one and the land workers one, each his own.

The Guardians must meet every Sunday.

Every Sunday in the year, from eleven o'clock until two at vesper time, the ten guardians must meet in our common parish court or in the council house, and diligently carry out their administration, and be ready to advise and act as a body for the honour of God and love of mankind. And all their councils must be kept honestly and truly secret, and their ways of dealing must not be made public by carelessness. If any of them are not always present and are prevented by an honest reason, the majority shall nevertheless have power to act and decide.

[SUMMARY.—*Three Books—wherein all Property, Privileges and Administration shall be set out.*

The ten supervisors are to keep three books as follows :

1. A book containing copies of documents, letters from founders or benefactors, registers of property—in short, copies of all documents concerning property which belongs to the common chest.
2. A ledger or record book—showing commercial transactions, certificates, information, investigations, resolutions, etc.

3. A yearly account book—showing an inventory of all property, etc. New contributions are to be entered up every Sunday. Books are to be handed on from one set of supervisors to another.]

Collection of Rents and Debts.

[SUMMARY.—The supervisors are to be responsible for collection of above.]

The Office of Two Master Builders.

[SUMMARY.—The supervisors are to appoint two of themselves to look after buildings—God's house, bridges, the parish court, schools, sacristy, hospitals; these two are also to collect alms in God's house with two purses or collecting boxes. Whatever is collected must be put in the common chest and entered in the account book. They must also divide the food among the poor each day.]

Prohibition of Begging of Alms.

No monk, of whatever order he may be, shall from henceforth have any days set apart for begging in our parish, in town or in village, but instead the three alms-houses shall be appropriated to them financed from the revenues of the common chest after proper valuation.

Abolition of Begging by Monks, Loiterers and Church Beggars.

It is neither permitted nor allowed that any monk, loiterer or church beggar shall himself beg or instigate begging in our parish, in town or village.

Abolition of Begging by Foreign Students.

No foreign student shall be allowed to beg in our parish, whether in town or village. But if any such wishes to attend one of our schools he must provide his own upkeep and livelihood.

Abolition of Male and Female Beggars.

No male or female beggar shall be allowed in our parish, in town or in village ; for such as do not suffer from age or sickness must work or be driven away from our parish, from town and village alike, with the aid of the authorities. Those in our parish, however, who are poor through accident or who cannot work because of sickness or old age shall be furnished with reasonable means from the common chest at the hands of the chosen ten men, in ways set out as follows :

Expenditure on the Office of Parson.

[SUMMARY.—The guardians are to choose the parson, acting on the advice of the parish council, and pay him suitably and comfortably from the common chest.

Expenditure on the Sacristan's Office.

The sacristan (chosen by the parish council) is to be paid quarterly by the guardians.

Expenditure on Schools.

The ten guardians (on behalf of the parish gathering) are to choose a schoolmaster, taking advice from the parson and others learned in holy writ. He is to be "pious, blameless, well educated," eager to teach and holding his office in high regard. He is to be paid

quarterly from the common chest, but receive nothing else beside. But in the case of foreign students (who of course are paying their own way and not having recourse to begging) low fees may be claimed by the Schoolmaster. The ten guardians along with the parson and preacher are to discuss the school and the care of youth each Sunday. "An honest, blameless female," is to be chosen also to train young girls under twelve years of age, in the Christian faith, and to teach them to read and write German. They are to be taught in "bright, clear sunshine" and in "an honest, unsuspected place." She also may take fees from foreign students.]

Expenditure on Infirm and Poor Old Men.

Those folk in our parish who have become poor through no fault of their own and who have been left without help from their friends (if they had any), and also those who cannot work because of sickness or old age and who are distressingly poor, shall be sustained and provided for by the ten guardians from the common chest each Sunday and in other cases if opportunity offers. This is to be done in order that their bodies and lives may in Christian love, and for the praise and glory of God, be shielded from lack of housing, clothing, nourishment and nursing, from further illness, weakness and shortness of life. And from none of our poor shall requirements of daily need be publicly called for, demanded or begged. So shall the ten guardians with constant industry make search and inquiry, and know thoroughly about all such poor as are mentioned above, in town or village, in our whole parish, and give advice every Sunday about them. The names of these poor people who have been so investigated, when it has

been resolved to give them assistance, shall, along with the advice given, be clearly written in the register so that the provision of supplies in our common chest may be shared out in an orderly way.

Expenditure on the Maintenance of Orphans and Poor Children.

Poor children who are left orphans shall be supplied with the means for moral and physical support, through the guardians in our towns and villages, from the common chest, until they can earn their bread and work for themselves. If among such orphans or children of poor people are found young boys, who would be clever in school and who are capable of understanding the liberal arts and literature, they should, along with the other poor men, be sustained and looked after by the guardians from the common chest. And other boys should be sent to work to manual labour and suitable trades. The young women among those bereaved orphans, daughters of the same poor people, shall be endowed for marriage with reasonable help through the ten guardians from the common chest.

Expenditure on the Upkeep of House-Poor People.

In order that artisans and other house-poor¹ people, married or widowed, resident in town and village throughout our parish, who have no means or possible source of help, may carry on and fulfil their labour honestly for the sustenance of citizens and peasants, the guardians shall make them a reasonable advance from the common chest, to be repaid at some

¹ Literally "house-poor," the folk who, according to Vives, "bear as they can their needs, each in his own home."

future time. But to those who cannot repay the loan with honest labour and industry it shall be remitted for God's sake because of their necessity. Such an arrangement shall of course be made through the guardians.

Expenditure on the Upkeep of Strangers.

For strangers, whether men or women, who have Christian and brotherly confidence in our common gathering, who would painstakingly and diligently seek a livelihood with their work in town or village in our parish, the ten guardians shall make honest provision and come to their help from the common chest with loans and gifts as occasion demands, so that strangers are not left in despair and may be saved from shame and open sin.

Expenditure on Upkeep and Erection of Buildings.

As regards the daily upkeep and betterment of buildings, also the erection of new buildings, to wit in these following places having a claim on the common chest, God's house, the Mulde bridge, the parish court, the school, the sacristan's house, the hospital, concerning these shall the ten guardians with industry and foresight, with the advice of architects and approved builders, take council, and subsequently carry out, perform, fulfil, and comfortably make provision for additional necessities. The outlay shall be charged to the common chest. Through their two master builders they shall obtain transport waggons and manual help from people in the city and on the land according to established custom, especially for bridges.

Expenditure on Buying Corn for the Common Stock.

For the use of our parish gathering the ten guardians shall, with the advice of a Town Councillor, buy with the funds of the common chest a fixed and reasonable amount of corn and peas and store it in the granaries, as the property of the council and parish, and make provision that it cannot be touched in years when corn is cheap to buy, but always increase and strengthen it so that throughout town and village in time of dire distress it may be sold, lent and given to the inhabitants of our parish, as seems fitting and proper in the eyes of the ten guardians. Thus they may have shelter and bodily nourishment (by the grace of God) through such provision. And whatever corn, given by a generous hand or as the result of the division of a will for the common use and support of the poor people, as above, remains over, shall also be put in this common stock and, as it is set forth above, be used for the need of the whole parish.

Furnishing an Annual Increase to Common Chest.

[SUMMARY.—Each inheritor, citizen and peasant living in the parish is to contribute some money yearly as a supplement to the common chest. Servants and young manual labourers, who do not possess houses but who have parish rights, are to contribute a silver groat each year, paid in quarterly sums of three new pennies. The employers are to collect this money.]

Holding of Parish Gatherings Three Times Yearly.

[SUMMARY.—The whole parish gathering is to meet three times a year, on certain specified Sundays, and listen to an account of the guardians' stewardship. They

are to meet at eleven and go on till at least about two o'clock.]

The Guardians are to furnish a Complete Annual Account.

On one of the Sundays the guardians are to furnish a complete survey of expenditure. They are to be cordially thanked for their trouble and are then to hand over everything to the new guardians.

IV

ZWINGLI'S ORDINANCE AND ARTICLES TOUCHING ALMSGIVING

POOR relief in Zürich also had a predominantly secular character. As the progress of the Reformation advanced, it became clearly only a matter of time before the monastic foundations would be abolished, and although external politics gave them for a while hopes of continued existence the end came in December 1524, when the monks of the Mendicant Orders (there were three in Zürich) were ordered to assemble in the Barfüsser-Kloster,¹ and those who were young enough and strong enough to work were turned adrift, with instructions to get themselves taught a craft or trade; provision was made for the maintenance of the old and infirm. The nuns were treated in the same way, and the City Council took over the buildings and endowments of friaries and nunneries alike. The Dominican Friary was turned into a hospital, and its Chapel became the fourth Parish Church of the city: the Augustinian House became a kitchen where food was prepared for the poor, and the Franciscan House was used for the distribution of such food: of the nunneries, that of Selnau became a House of Correction and that of Veterbach an orphanage. The nunnery attached to the Great Minster was turned into a classical school, and at the present day its descendant, a high-grade school for girls, is to be seen built into the romanesque cloisters. In January of the next year (1525) the *Articles touching*

¹ *i.e.* the Friary of the Franciscans; the other Mendicant Orders in Zürich were the Dominicans and the Augustinians.

Almsgiving were issued, of which the portions dealing with begging and poor relief are given below.¹ The portions dealing with the care and treatment of the sick have been omitted, as not strictly germane to the subject, but taken altogether the scheme (which seems to have been Zwingli's own, although based to some extent on the Nuremberg rules of 1522) is a guide to the Protestant method of dealing with social problems. The administration is to be mainly in the hands of laymen, although the co-operation of the clergy is provided for. Begging and indiscriminate charity are done away with, and voluntary contributions are to supplement the revenues which will come from the endowments of the suppressed religious houses. The money is not entirely to go to the sick and poor, but education (both general and technical) is to be established for the poorer children, and a certain amount is to be set aside to help wayfarers passing through the city on their lawful occasions. This last provision is carrying on into the modern world a very common feature of the late Middle Ages, except that the mediæval endowments were private rather than municipal and were not connected with ordinary travel so much as with pilgrimages; thus there was at Coblenz a special fund which provided bread and wine, bacon and peas, for Hungarian pilgrims *en route* for Aachen. But the licensed begging, which was also a frequent accompaniment of pilgrimages, naturally finds no place in the Zürich arrangements; the familiar badge is indeed ordained, but it is to be worn by the poor in general (unless specially exempted), and not, as elsewhere, by licensed beggars. It should be noted that Zwingli makes no provision for any compulsory rate such as that which Luther had ordained in the Leisneck ordinances. But, as at Leisneck, the character of the recipients of relief is to be carefully enquired into.

¹ January 15th; they are printed in Mörikofer. *Ulrich Zwingli*, pp. 252 seq.

ORDINANCE AND ARTICLES TOUCHING
ALMSGIVING.

The first necessary step towards removing the poor folk from the streets is that a kettle, with oatmeal, barley or other vegetables, should be cooked daily and brought to the Preachers. In the morning, when the church bell is rung, bread and broth must be distributed to the poor. Two clergy are to be responsible for this distribution, Anton Walder and George Setz (the former a Prebendary of the Cathedral, the latter a Chaplain at the Frauenmünster) together with Anderesen, the Overseer of the beggars: the Superintendent and the four appointed persons (or some of them) must have the supervision of this.

With a view to the continuance and increase of these alms for natives and strangers, and their extension to the poor who have homes of their own,¹ the following appointments have been made by both the lesser and the greater Councils; to wit, Rudolph Stoll, George Göldli, Ulrich Trinkler, Hans Schneeberger Wattmann (Cloth-merchants). Herr Heinrich Brennwald, Provost of Embrach, is to be their Overseer and Secretary: he is to move into the city and yet still enjoy his benefice. It shall be his duty to call together the other four, and anything that is too difficult for them they are to bring in front of the Council. Each of the four is to have a key to the Common Chest and to the stock, and whenever these need to be opened for alms-distribution, or

¹ *i.e.* "the shamefaced poor abiding at home," who are in ordinances of this kind always distinguished from those of their fellow-townsmen who beg in the streets and probably have no fixed place of residence.

any other purpose, at least one of the three secular clergy shall always be present, in order to become the better informed as to what he ought to say from the pulpit on the subject of Poor Relief.

As regards the three parishes, the seven wards in and outside the city "within the Crosses," and the district "outside the Crosses" which belongs to these parishes, the Overseer and the four Guardians are to summon from each ward a reputable cleric and also a pious layman, and these are to go about with the Superintendent of the Beggars and make an inventory in their ward of such persons as are in need of Poor Relief and are also deserving of it. They are to make arrangements each month as to which Burgesses are to be provided with Poor Relief, from town and county-district alike, right up to the limits of the church jurisdiction. Those who are not Burgesses and who do not belong to the city of Zürich are to be refused relief. When persons claim Poor Relief, enquiry shall be made of their neighbours (through the Superintendent of the Beggars) as to their origin and character. The following were nominated from the seven wards :—Dorf, Heinrich Uttinger, Sacristan, and Hans Kleger : *Zur Linden*,¹ Ulrich Tormann and R. Rey : *Neumarkt*, Jacob Edlibach and Kasper Nasal : *Niederdorf*, Peter Kitzsler and Heinrich Städeli of S. Lienhart : *Münsterhof*, Joseph Meyer and Jacob Ammann : *Kornhaus*, Hans Pfister and Conrad Cramer : *Rennweg*, Hans Tormann and Stephen Zeller.

The following types of poor citizens and country folk are not to be given alms ; any persons, whether men or women, of whom it is known that they have spent and

¹ The Lindenhof was where the Roman Castrum had once stood it later became the site of an Imperial palace.

wasted all their days in luxury and idleness, and will not work, but frequent public-houses, drinking-places and haunts of ill-repute. Such folk shall be given nothing in the way of Poor Relief until they arrive at the last stage of destitution, and even then reference must be made to the Mayor and City Council before settling what is to be done for them.¹ In like manner relief shall not be given to those who wear gold, silver, silk and such-like ornaments and jewels, those who take in and shelter folk of luxurious life, those who are procurers, those who without good reason do not attend sermons, or are blasphemers, cursers, brawlers, liars, makers of dissensions and enmities, those who frequent drinking resorts, who play cards, gamble and indulge in any other kind of wantonness and frivolity.

But to the following folk Poor Relief *shall* be distributed; the pious, respectable poor citizens, living in the three country parishes and in the seven town wards, who have worked all their days and taken trouble to maintain themselves honourably, who have not consumed their substance with riotous living but happen to be, through God's providence, unable to work any more to maintain themselves by reason of war, fire, famine, accident, excess of children, old age or other infirmity.² He who is too feeble to fetch the alms must have it sent to him; and in order that the poor who are in receipt of relief may be known, they must have a stamped or engraved badge, and wear it openly. If a man becomes

¹ For a somewhat similar treatment of the undeserving by Vives, see above, p. 13.

² Such folk, in fact, as Shakspeare has in mind when he speaks of

"indigent faint souls, past corporal toil,"

for whose relief ecclesiastical endowments might well be applied. (*Henry V*, I., i.)

once more hale and hearty and no longer in need of poor relief, he must give back the badge to the Overseers, who shall also exempt from the duty of wearing the badge those who, though now in need of relief, were formerly people of position and who would be quite willing to work if they were able to.

All begging, either by local folk or by strangers, is to be done away with, whether lying or sitting, whether in the streets or at church doors or soliciting alms from house to house. Those who break this rule shall be refused Poor Relief for eight days, and on a second offence shall be entirely deprived of it. All begging on the part of "stationary persons," whether excommunicated folk or the like, is prohibited, and this prohibition is to be proclaimed from the pulpit. The clergy are from time to time to exhort the faithful in church to give their alms on all occasions into the Common Stock;¹ whoever would like to give wine, corn, woollen or linen cloth, or money, should give it to the Guardians, or wherever he feels inclined. Eight children from each school in the city's territory, preferably clever ones, shall appear in front of the Guardians to collect the free will offerings and carry round the beggar's badges.

Beggars or pilgrims from other lands or towns shall be allowed to pass through the city, but they shall not be allowed to beg or bawl at houses or in front of churches. A man who arrives in the morning shall be harboured in the Spital: if he has children he shall be given bread and broth for dinner, but in any case he must go away while it is still daylight and not stay over night. He who comes after midday shall be given a supper of bread and broth as well as lodging for the night, but he

¹ *i.e.* not in the form of private individual gifts.

must go away next morning and not come back again for six months. Persons breaking this rule will be punished by being locked up in the Overseers' Tower or in some other way.

Incurables shall no longer beg in the city, but shall stay in the Infirmary outside the precincts of the city, but at Christmas-time they shall be allowed to bring in the Happy New Year with their carols. Their lad may continue, as heretofore, to collect alms in the city in a plate.

The revenues of all charities and brotherhoods (save such as have a special dedication) and the income of all monasteries and benefices shall be added to this Poor Relief Fund. It is further decreed that the Prediger-Kloster ¹ shall be turned into a Spital and at the same time that the large room and various other apartments shall be used as a Home for Strangers.

¹ The Friary of the Dominicans or "preaching Friars."

V

LES PAUVRES DE ROUEN

LEGISLATION in France goes back to the savage law of John (1350) against able-bodied beggars, to whom no alms are to be given. Individual charity, however, is constantly put forward prominently as an important duty of the Christian, and Charles VII publicly proclaimed in 1444 that almsgiving figured first and foremost among the items of his expenditure.¹ Legislation of a modern kind dates from 1536, when Francis I ordered each parish to keep rolls of its poor, while the deserving "impotent" were to be given a reasonable amount of relief, the money to come from voluntary gifts and the administration to be in the hands of the clergy. Each parish was to keep a box for the poor, and particular attention was to be drawn to this at church-time every Sunday, while the collections were to be supplemented by the funds which were to be handed over from ancient foundations with a statutory obligation of private charity, if the parish was lucky enough to have any such within its bounds.² Another ordinance of the same year insisted that able-bodied beggars should be set to work, and that the recalcitrant should be punished. It may be said in passing that this legislation was not very effective and that Paris was in 1545 attacked by a vast swarm of beggars, mainly refugees from Picardy and Champagne,

¹ Monnier, *Assistance publique*, p. 306.

² There were a great number of these, with the obligation of a fixed amount of almsgiving specially mentioned in the charter of foundation. See below, p. 117.

which were then being menaced by hostile armies. What is more immediately interesting is that the legislation of 1536 (so similar in many ways to the English Act of the same year) had been largely anticipated more than a year before by the city of Rouen, another example of the tendency, noted by Ashley, for towns to give the lead to nations in poor law matters. Nor, as a matter of fact, was even Rouen the actual pioneer, as rules of a very similar kind had been made in Paris and Lyons shortly before.¹ But it is from Rouen that the selections given below are taken, partly because these were rather more methodical, profiting by the experience of the two other cities, and partly because the Rouen poor law has recently been the subject of three valuable volumes edited by Dr. G. Panel.²

There does not seem to be any evidence either that the citizens of Rouen based their policy on the Ypres scheme, or that they had been influenced in any way by the writings of Vives ; they seem to have worked out their own arrangements by degrees, as circumstances required, with no external assistance save what they got from the suggestions of Paris and Lyons. There had been an ordinance of sorts

¹ The action taken at Lyons in 1531 was dictated by the necessity of providing for 8000 refugees from the surrounding districts who had been driven into the city by famine. The *Grande Aumône* was established in 1532, with Government assistance, and begging was prohibited in 1533. The origin of this scheme, and the rules of its later administration will be found in the *Institution de l'Aumône générale de Lyon*, Lyons, 1628.

The Paris scheme is described in the *Police des Pauvres à Paris, par un certain Montaigne, procureur du Cardinal de Tournon*. This pamphlet was written between 1555 and 1557, and the author complains that it went to press without the printer shewing him a proof ! The scheme itself seems to date from 1529 or 1530. The *Police* has been reprinted (from a manuscript belonging at one time to Colbert) by E. Coyecque in the *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris*, XV., 1888.

² *Documents concernant les Pauvres de Rouen, publiés avec introduction, notes et tables par le Docteur G. Panel, 1917.*

dealing with the poor as early as 1521 but this does not seem to have amounted to much, and when a more ambitious policy came along in 1534 the earlier scheme, such as it was, was entirely forgotten ; at any rate no references to it were then made. At the end of 1534 the local Parlement took up the question vigorously and the results of its deliberations are given below ¹ :

Extract No. 1 sees the situation discussed at a large meeting specially called for the purpose. No. 2 shows the City Council preparing to take action. No. 3 is an elaborate set of rules, enacted by the local Parlement. For the most part, the regulations are of a type with which we are by now tolerably familiar : a distinction is to be made between " valiant " and " impotent," and only the latter are to be succoured ; the public are to be incited to be charitable, and it is assumed that there will be enough money forthcoming from collections to administer the necessary relief ; there is no suggestion of a compulsory rate. But the ecclesiastical position is interesting ; it is a kind of compromise. Ecclesiastical revenues are not (as in the German cases) confiscated for municipal use ; on the contrary, the co-operation of the clergy is assumed throughout, and the administration of relief is largely in their hands. But church endowments must be properly used ; hospitals must really look after the infirm, and revenues which have attached to them the obligation of charity shall be turned on to this particular form of benevolence, as a most valuable supplement to the ordinary collections. As regards " sturdy beggars," not only is begging forbidden, but they are to leave the city, and the disobedient are to be sentenced to hard labour.

The actual administration of the new system clearly developed by stages. The licensed poor are not at first obliged (as in so many other places) to wear a distinctive

¹ The provincial Parlements of pre-revolution France were mainly judicial in character, though they had also administrative functions. Roughly, they may be described as a cross between a County Council and a Quarter Sessions.

badge, but this comes in 1544 (a yellow cross to be worn on the shoulder).¹ The first Treasurer-General of the Poor whose name has come down to us dates from 1541, though the office itself was created in 1535. Charity Schools were ordered in 1543, but not actually erected till 1551. Relief works were engaged in, with a view to giving employment, in the winter of 1541-2, and again in 1544; these were an extension of the road-making scheme of 1534 (which, however, had been a form of hard labour for recalcitrant ruffians) and a similar scheme of 1536, which had had to be stopped through shortage of funds. Gibbets, as a last resort for the obstinate and disobedient able-bodied, were erected in 1568 and again in 1586. Corn was sold cheap in 1587 and occasionally at later dates. The care of children and the reorganisation of the hospitals seem to belong more to the seventeenth century. We are concerned here only with the launching of the scheme, but its subsequent history will be found in Dr. Panel's Introduction and in the documents which he prints. One word, however, should be added about the finance of the system. The contributions were in theory essentially voluntary, and Catholic doctrine always insisted, as we have seen, on this voluntary character being preserved. But if *compulsion* must not be applied, there can be no harm in *persuasion*. This, of course, is like the development in England where persuasion, episcopal or otherwise, occupies a half-way position between pure gifts and a fixed rate. At Rouen in 1544 those who do not give enough are threatened with distraint of their goods; in 1555 the subscription list is sent round the city a second time as the first collection had not brought in enough. Meanwhile, in 1545, what was practically a direct tax has been imposed, and this reappears in 1574 and again in 1623: in 1665 it is found to be a useful way of persecuting Huguenots, but in general it is an assessment which will not be enforced by law but

¹ A mark of sorts seems to have been ineffectively ordered in 1540.

which will naturally be accepted, and acted upon, by folk of good will.

Finally the word "Hanse," which appears from time to time, should be noticed. Originally meaning "association," as in the famous Hanseatic League, it comes to denote any public or group arrangement, and for our purpose means a sum of money (usually 6 livres) given at the City Hall to a poor applicant. These "hanses," which were provided by voluntary charity, are of a very ancient origin but naturally they are met with less often after the emergence of a systematic scheme for the relief of the poor.

I.

ASSEMBLY OF CHIEF CITIZENS.

December 2nd, 1534.

Proceedings of an assembly held at the City Hall of Rouen (in accordance with an Ordinance of the Court of Parliament delivered by us, Robert de Bailly, President, René de Beudelieure, and Geoffrey de Manneville, Counsellors and Commissaries thereof) on Wednesday the 2nd day of December 1534, in the afternoon ; there being present Master Laurence Bigot, King's advocate in the aforesaid Court, and Robert Lenglays, Lieutenant-General of the High Bailiff, and the following persons specially summoned, to wit : the Archbishop's Vicars, the Canons, Dean and Chapter of the Metropolitan Church of Notre Dame, the Twenty-four Councillors of the City, the Vicar of the Abbot-Commendatory of St. Ouen, the Priors of St. Lo and the Madeleine, the Sheriff of Rouen and the Commissioners of the Shrievalty of Rouen, the Managers of the Royal Hospitals of St. Martin and St. Catherine, together with eight notable folk (royal officials, legal function-

aries, and merchants) from each of the eight Wards of the City ; the purpose of the assembly being to ascertain the situation as regards the poor and the sick beggars, and to formulate a policy whereby they could be relieved without begging in streets and churches and at private houses.

First of all, the disorders, ills and inconveniences were explained which meet us day by day in the shape of house-burglaries, larcenies, riots and the like, arising from the fact that many idle vagabonds, strong and healthy creatures, are suffered to live in the City without earning their living, and that these filch by their begging the bread and other sustenance of the truly poor and sick. Furthermore, mention was made of the natural obligation, both divine and secular, in accordance with which every Christian is bound to come to the help of his neighbour, as a member of the same body, and of how the Cities of Paris and Lyons (and others) had issued ordinances to deal with a similar situation. Finally, it was explained that the present assembly had been summoned by the Court of Parliament aforesaid in order to obtain the advice, guidance and approval of the City, in particular as to whether there was not need or occasion to promulgate systematic ordinances on this point. So, after the opinion of the various persons present had been heard, it was unanimously decided that it was of the first importance to separate the genuine poor, and the sick, feeble and impotent from the lazy vagabonds and hale and hearty ruffians, by driving these latter (whether natives or strangers) out of the City in whatever way might best be done, and thereafter make provision for the nourishment and maintenance of the genuine poor and infirm ; and to work out and put down in writing

all necessary means and measures, all of which should be sent to the Court of Parliament which should make such ordinances as seemed good to it. The following were nominated to proceed with the drawing up of these rules: the aforementioned Masters Bigot and Lenglays, together with William le Rat, Canon and Vicar of the Archbishop, the Royal officers of the Bailliwick, Master William Tardival, as a Canon representing the Chapter, and in addition Mariane Doucelouce, the Vicar of the Abbot-Commendatory of St. Ouen, two Councillors and the official Attorney of the City.

II.

ASSEMBLY OF THE TWENTY-FOUR (THE CITY COUNCIL).

January 7th, 1534-5.

The statistics of the impotent poor showed that there were 7000 of these: of beggars there were 297 and of beggars' children 235.¹

Le Lyeur: the higher clergy should be informed that the collections do not amount to much and should be invited to make contributions. . . .

Dumouchel: the begging poor who are strong enough to work should be set to earn their living on public works. . . . Announcement should be made at Sermon-time that within three days beggars must make themselves scarce and not make further collections in the streets or churches, and that when the three days are over (systematic) relief must be given them.

It was agreed that first of all, and before isolating

¹ Beggars here mean obviously "sturdy" beggars, as opposed to the impotent.

the poor beggars, a decision should be come to as to whether alms ought to be given to the shamefaced poor, and if so, whether in money or in kind, and up to what amount, and also what should be the status of the folk appointed to distribute the said relief; and that for this purpose a meeting of the Twenty-Four of the Council should be held on the afternoon of Monday next: and that when that had been done within the week, the aforesaid withdrawal of the beggars should be proclaimed on Saturday next, together with a warning to the beggars to make no further collections in the City, and that this point should be clearly explained, so as to prevent discontent. It was further agreed that notices should be sent to the parish clergy, for them to read out at Sermon-time, and that they should be asked to invite their parishioners to give alms for the relief of the poor.

III.

ORDINANCES MADE TO MEET THE CASE OF THE
STURDY POOR OF THIS CITY OF ROUEN.1534 (*apparently*).

The Court, considering that Charity is the greatest and chief of all the virtues and that it is required of every Christian that he make shew of it towards God's poor who cannot earn their living, through illness or other legitimate let or cause, notices that there are in this City many folk, hale and hearty, who eat the bread and substance of the poor and filch from them the alms that are given day by day. In order, therefore, to establish this City in peace and quiet, and to maintain the impotent poor who cannot earn their

own living, and to incite and move to devotion every good Christian, whether lay or cleric, to the point of giving of his goods to the poor, the Court has held a meeting in the City Hall to which it has sent its President and two Councillors to explain the situation and to make rules for the aforesaid poor and for the idle vagabonds in the City: furthermore the Court has considered certain rules prepared by a Committee of the aforesaid assembly, and has also heard the wishes of the Royal Attorney-General, to whom the said rules were sent for his good and mature deliberation; now therefore the Court has ordained and does ordain that the rules, hereinafter set forth, shall be published at the High Court and its audience-hall, and also at the High Court of the Bailliewick, and at the cross-roads of the City. *First* the Court enjoins and commands all persons, both men and women, who are able to work and who have not sufficient means whereby to live, and who live idly, without work or other employment, or beg and cadge in this City, and all convicts¹ and outlaws of this City and Realm (if their sentence is not annulled) to be gone and leave this City; the idle vagabonds, and sturdy knaves, and beggars must leave within eight days of the publication of these presents, or else must find masters or other folk of substance willing to vouch for them,² under penalty of the whip or of being sentenced, without any kind of appeal, to being chained and set on to the public works of the City, for such time as shall be decreed by the Court and without prejudice; and similarly the convicts and outlaws must be gone within forty-eight hours of this publication, under penalty of the halter.

¹ Literally, cropped-heads.

² And presumably be responsible for their upkeep.

Further, the Bailiff of Rouen or his Deputy is ordered to arrest all folk of this sort and make them prisoners, as soon as the eight days are over, proceeding against them according to the terms of this proclamation, to the point of final sentence and even of torture (excluding only the actual death-penalty if this is appealed against), and the said Bailiff or his deputy is to hand over to the City Councillors the aforesaid idle knaves, sturdy vagabonds and beggars, to be chained or put in irons, two by two, and placed in the surest subjection possible, but not so chained as to prevent them from working, and the said prisoners are to be put to servile labour with all diligence at such necessary public works as will make for the good, profit and use of the City.

And it is further required of the City Councillors that they shall take such good and adequate care of these prisoners that they shall not get out of the irons nor escape, and that they shall maintain them and provide a safe place to lodge them in, furnishing them at the expense of the city, or causing them to be furnished with, such victuals, utensils and the like as shall be necessary for their life and maintenance, during the time that they are working as aforesaid, and such as shall be necessary in the future.

And since, as a result of these ordinances, the convicts, outlaws, and sturdy ruffians might take to their heels, in flight from this City, in great bands or companies, whereby much trouble might result, the Court prohibits and forbids folk of this sort from going about the country in bands and companies, in fact more than two at a time, under pain of the whip.

And any person who shall find them disobeying this order is authorised to take and arrest them, and to hand them over to the nearest competent authority,

who is hereby instructed to punish them in accordance with the terms of this order and the necessities of the case.

And as regards the appropriate place for and kind of public work on which these idle vagabonds, knaves, and sturdy ruffians are to be set, it is recommended that the making of a road should be begun from the Bridge at Bapaume going out towards the Forest of Roumare, of which road the curbs shall be concrete, cut and set by masons and workmen, and the road as a whole filled up with pebbles, slate, and other material by the chained prisoners, who shall go and fetch the stuff in baskets from the edge of the Forest and the claypits near the road.

Further, all managers of hospitals, all keepers of hostleries and taverns, all peasants and all inhabitants of this City and of its suburbs are ordered not to receive, entertain or conceal in their houses or elsewhere the said convicts, outlaws, idle vagabonds and sturdy beggars; and they are further ordered to denounce any such and warn the police and have them arrested with a view to their being punished, on pain of an arbitrary fine and of being proceeded against as concealers of malefactors and infringers of this prohibition and ordinance.

And as to the other beggars, those, that is, who are not hale and hearty, or who are women with children to suckle, from whom they cannot reasonably be separated, and also wayfarers, pilgrims and young children, and in general all persons of whatever kind they may be, these are prohibited from any further begging or collecting of alms in churches, houses, entrances or in the streets of the City, under pain of whip and rod, saving only the collections of the friars and nuns of the Mendicant Orders, the Bons Enfants

and the poor prisoners, which shall be allowed to continue in the accustomed manner.

Further, in order to ascertain the numbers respectively of the infirm poor allowed to remain, and the sturdy outlaws, etc., driven out or set on public works, the Court enjoins and commands the Treasurers and parishioners of the City and its suburbs to assemble themselves, each in his parish, on the Sunday or Feast-day next following the publication of this order, and to elect and choose from among themselves two eminent personages in each parish who, together with the Vicar or Curate and the Treasurers of the parish, shall go round every house, hired place or household of their parish, enquiring about the poor of the parish, their names, surnames, ages, place of origin, trade, period of residence in the City, present necessity and previous manner of life : they shall put down on paper the result of these enquiries, attested under their seals, and shall send in these returns promptly to the City Hall. In parishes which are of considerable size a larger number of persons may be entrusted with these enquiries, and the work may be divided among the districts of the parish.

[The rest of the order is given in the form of a full Summary]:

In order to provide the money required for the relief of the impotent poor, Collections shall be made on every Feast-day, and from house to house twice a week, the collectors being two responsible folk elected from week to week : one is to carry a dish or plate, and a box with two keys, the other a piece of paper on which are to be recorded gifts in kind, without however mentioning the names of the donors. The total amounts are to be entered up weekly in a Register.

A chained box is to be set up at every church door, and at all the doors of public buildings, labelled "for the poor." The persons in charge are to bring these boxes to be emptied in front of the parish clerks weekly, and hotel-keepers in particular are to be instructed "to have the care and solicitude to urge their guests to give to the poor by handing them the box at meal-times and at any other times which they see to be convenient to their consciences."

The Archbishop of Rouen and all the other clergy are to be exhorted to use for this purpose, where possible, endowments of which they have the control, and the clergy are also asked, in their sermons and at confession, to incite the faithful to these acts of charity, and to do the same when they are receiving testamentary instructions.¹

The parish clerks are to bring their funds to the Treasurer of the Poor, who will put the money into a box which is to be kept in the City Hall, and which is to have three keys, one kept by himself, one by a royal official of sorts, and one by the oldest of the City Councillors.

As regards accommodation for the impotent poor, the Court orders that those who have homes should be left there unless they can more easily be put up in some special establishment along with the other poor who have not got homes. For these latter, hospitals in the town and suburbs, or similar buildings are to be got ready. The Bailiff and his assistants, burgesses and City Councillors, are to make provision either in money or in kind for the relief of their necessities, having regard to the character, standing and industry of each, according to his necessity.

¹ *i.e.* helping folk to draw up their wills.

The Court orders pilgrims and others passing through the City on reasonable pretexts to report themselves at one or other of the four following Hospitals (St. Ouen, St. Martin, St. Vivien, or St. Catherine), where they will be given food and lodging for one night, and the authorities of the Hospital are forbidden to take them in for more than one night, unless sickness, bad weather or some such cause makes it inevitable.

As some of the administrators of these Hospitals are saying that they have not got revenues enough, or that they are not legally bound to use their revenues in this way, the Court orders all foundation charters, etc. (together with each Hospital's accounts of receipts and expenditure for the last few years), to be brought before the Royal Procurator-General. The Court will then settle what is fair, taking into account the intentions of the founders. And if the revenues really are not big enough, they will be supplemented from the money raised by voluntary collections.

Those of the impotent poor who fall seriously ill are to be promptly taken to the Hotel-Dieu de la Madeleine, whose medical staff, paid from the revenues of the Institution, are to look after them; the staff are also to visit any poor folk who are sick and find out if their illness is genuine or a sham.

The administration is to be in the hands of the three persons already named, the oldest City Councillor, one of the royal officials, and the Treasurer of the Poor; this latter is to be elected by a majority-vote of the Council for six months at a time, while in cases of difficulty recourse may be had to the Bailli or his assistants, or to the Court as a whole. All these persons are to meet at the City Hall once a month, or more often if required.

IV.

March 18th, 1535.

A statement was presented by the Royal Procurator-General in which he explained the great and almost intolerable burden endured by the poor (men, women, and children, put on the alms' list in accordance with the City's Ordinance) by reason of their incalculable number, and also by reason of the high price of the necessaries of life, such as wheat, barley, and other grains, and meat, and drink, and victuals of all sorts.

The Councillor Commissary appointed to audit the accounts of the Treasurer of the Poor presented his report and explained the amount of his obligation and the advances made by him from these funds. The Court, having considered these statements, decreed and resolved that the following sums should be assessed against the Abbeyes, Priories, and other ecclesiastical bodies having houses, goods, and revenues in the said City and Shrievalty of Rouen, to wit :

The Abbey of Beaubec, the sum of 20 livres,¹

The Abbey of Corneille, 20 livres,

Saint Vaudrille, 50 livres,

Saint Victor, 10 livres

(and so on, the highest assessments being Jumieges and le Bec, 60 livres each, and the lowest Corneville, Conches, and Le Bourgachard, 100 sous each).²

¹ The livre was a money of account but not an actual coin. At this time its purchasing power was roughly that of 20 pre-war francs ; the sol was the twentieth part of the livre.

² An order of May 5th, 1537, brought in a number of fresh assessments, mainly on a higher scale ; thus, the Archbishop of Rouen, 500 livres ; the Chapter of the Cathedral Churches, 250 ; the Abbey of St. Ouen, 200, etc. *Les Pauvres de Rouen*, p. 31.

And on the clergy of parochial churches whose clergy are absent and non-resident, the following sums, to wit :—

(a list of 14, of which the highest is Saint Maclou, 30 livres, and the lowest Saint Pierre du Châtel, 60 sous.

The Court orders these payments to be made in equal instalments at each term of the year, “ notwithstanding oppositions, appeals and the like, until things turn out better or until it is otherwise ordered.”)

VI

THE ENGLISH LEGISLATION OF 1531 AND 1536¹

THE English Poor Law is too well known to need much comment. The Acts of 1531 and 1536 are, of course, only two links in the long chain of Tudor legislation, which begins with the Beggars' Act of 1495 and culminates in the codifying Statutes of 1598 and 1601. They are given here, though not in full, because they belong to the same period as the continental arrangements which we have had in review, but they differ from them inasmuch as they are examples of legislation by a national government and not merely local ordinances or projects of municipal reform.

The Statutes of 1495 and 1501 had enacted penalties against vagabonds; the able-bodied were to work and the impotent were to remain at home, it being assumed that for the latter enough private charity would be forthcoming. The distinction between these two classes of poor is made more definite by the Act of 1531, and the Justices of the Peace are given important functions, including the licensing of such folk as are still to be allowed to beg. The Act of 1536 introduces further administrative machinery; no begging at all is to be permitted, and voluntary collections are to be made both for maintaining the "impotent" and for setting to work the "lusty." There is no suggestion

¹ The Scotch legislation is very like the English, except that it is usually rather later. The distinction between "valiant" and "impotent" beggars, made in England in 1388, appears in 1425, while the legislation of 1503 is on the same lines as the English Act of 1495. But Scotland takes the lead in the matter of voluntary parish contributions (1535, as against 1536).

of touching the monastic endowments; in fact, the Act which abolished the smaller monasteries, though also dated 1536, stands later in the Statute Book than the Beggars' Act, which itself clearly takes the monastic charities for granted, inasmuch as it exempts the begging of the Mendicant Friars from the general prohibition, and also sanctions the continuance of the ordinary relief given by Abbeys and Monasteries.

On the whole, the result arrived at is not very different from, let us say, the municipal schemes of Rouen; but being part of a national arrangement it is more likely to be manageable in practice. All the same we are still a long way from the comprehensive system evolved by the end of the century (for instance, there is as yet no hint of a compulsory poor rate),¹ and it is clear that, though the problem in England was not in its essentials different from that of the Continent, England was not in any material way a pioneer of reforming methods. "English statesmen, at every step of their action in this matter, moved in an atmosphere of European discussion, of which they must have been aware. The period when the history of the English Poor Law began to diverge from that of the rest of Europe was rather the seventeenth than the sixteenth century."²

I.

BEGGARS ACT OF 1531.

AN ACT CONCERNING PUNISHMENT OF BEGGARS AND VAGABONDS.

Where in all places throughout this realm of England vagabonds and beggars have of long time increased and

¹ The prejudice against a compulsory rate died very hard. So late as 1510 John Robinson, the Pilgrim Father, described it as "more fitly called a malevolence, for the ill-will it is paid with," as compared with the "free will offering of love and mercy." (*Works*, ed. Ashton, ii. 276.)

² Ashley, *op. cit.* p. 350.

daily do increase in great and excessive numbers, by the occasion of idleness, mother and root of all vices, whereby have insurged and sprung and daily insurgeth and springeth continual thefts, murders, and other heinous offences and great enormities, to the high displeasure of God, the inquietation and damage of the King's people, and to the marvellous disturbance of the common weal of this realm. And, whereas many and sundry good laws, strait statutes and ordinances, have been before this time devised and made, as well by the King our Sovereign Lord as also by divers his most noble progenitors, kings of England, for the most necessary and due reformation of the premises, yet that, notwithstanding, the said numbers of vagabonds and beggars be not seen in any party to be minished, but rather daily augmented and increased into great routs and companies, as evidently and manifestly it doth and may appear; Be it therefore enacted. . . . That the Justices of the Peace . . . shall from time to time, as often as need shall require, by their discretions divide themselves within the said shires (etc. . . .) and so being divided shall make diligent search and enquiry of all aged, poor, and impotent persons which live or of necessity be compelled to live by alms of the charity of the people that be or shall be hereafter abiding . . . within the limits of their division, and after and upon such search made the said Justices of Peace . . . shall have power and authority by their discretions to enable to beg, within such . . . limits as they shall appoint, such of the said impotent persons which they shall find and think most convenient within the limits of their division to live of the charity and alms of the people, and to give in commandment to every such aged and impotent beggar (by them enabled) that none of them

shall beg without the limits to them so appointed, and shall also register and write the names of every such impotent beggar (by them appointed) in a bill or roll indented, the one part thereof to remain with themselves and the other part by them to be certified before the Justices of Peace at the next Sessions after such search had . . . there to remain under the keeping of the Custos Rotulorum; And that the said Justices of Peace . . . shall make and deliver to every such impotent person by them enabled to beg, a letter containing the name of such impotent person and witnessing that he is authorised to beg and the limits within which he is appointed to beg, the same letter to be sealed with such . . . seals as shall be engraved with the name of the limit wherein such impotent person shall be appointed to beg in, and to be subscribed with the name of one of the said Justices.

And be it further enacted . . . That if any person or persons being whole and mighty in body and able to labour, . . . or if any man or woman being whole and mighty in body and able to labour having no land, master, nor using any lawful merchandise, craft, or mystery, whereby he might get his living . . . be vagrant and can give none reckoning how he doth lawfully get his living, that then it shall be lawful to the constables and all other the King's officers, ministers, and subjects of every town, parish, and hamlet to arrest the said vagabonds and idle persons and to bring them to any of the Justices of Peace of the same shire or liberty . . . and that every such Justice of Peace . . . shall cause every such idle person so to him brought to be had to the next market town or other place where the said Justices of Peace . . . shall think most convenient, . . . and there to be tied to the end of a cart

naked and be beaten with whips throughout the same market town or other place till his body be bloody by reason of such whipping ; and after such punishment and whipping had, the person so punished . . . shall be enjoined upon his oath to return forthwith without delay in the next and straight way to the place where he was born, or where he last dwelled before the same punishment by the space of three years, and there put himself to labour like as a true man oweth to do.

II.

BEGGARS ACT OF 1536.

AN ACT FOR PUNISHMENT OF STURDY VAGABONDS AND BEGGARS.

[Begins with a rehearsal of the 1531 legislation] . . .

And forasmuch as it was not provided in the said Act how and in what wise the said poor people and sturdy vagabonds should be ordered at their repair and at their coming into their countries, nor how the inhabitants of every hundred should be charged for the relief of the same poor people, nor yet for the setting and keeping in work and labour of the aforesaid valiant vagabonds at their said repair into every hundred of this realm, It is therefore now ordained and established and enacted . . . That all the governors and ministers of . . . cities, shires, towns, hundreds, wapentakes, lathes, rapes, ridings, tithings, hamlets, and parishes, as well within liberties as without, shall not only succour, find, and keep all and every of the same poor people by way of voluntary and charitable alms . . . in such wise as none of them of very necessity shall be compelled to wander idly and go openly in begging to ask

alms in any of the same cities, shires, towns, and parishes ; but also to cause and to compel all and every the said sturdy vagabonds and valiant beggars to be set and kept to continual labour, in such wise as by their said labours they and every of them may get their own livings with the continual labour of their own hands. . . .

Item, It is ordained and enacted . . . that all and every the mayors, governors, and head officers of every city, borough, and town corporate and the churchwardens or two others of every parish of this realm shall in good and charitable wise take such discreet and convenient order, by gathering and procuring of such charitable and voluntary alms of the good Christian people within the same with boxes every Sunday, Holy Day, and other Festival Day or otherwise among themselves, in such good and discreet wise as the poor, impotent, lame, feeble, sick, and diseased people, being not able to work, may be provided, holpen, and relieved, so that in no wise they nor none of them be suffered to go openly in begging ; And that such as be lusty or having their limbs strong enough to labour may be daily kept in continual labour, whereby every one of them may get their own substance and living with their own hands. . . .

Item, It is enacted . . . that every preacher, parson, vicar, curate of this realm, as well in all and every their sermons, collations, biddings of the beads, as in time of all confessions, and at the making of the wills or testaments of any persons, at all times of the year shall exhort, move, stir, and provoke people to be liberal, and bountifully to extend their good and charitable alms and contributions from time to time for and toward the comfort and relief of the said poor, impotent, decrepit, indigent, and needy people, as for the setting

and keeping to continual work and labour of the fore-said rufflers, sturdy vagabonds, and valiant beggars in every city, ward, town, hundred, and parish, of this realm, as well within liberties as without.¹

And for the avoiding of all such inconveniences and infections as oftentime have and daily do chance amongst the people by common and open doles, and that most commonly unto such doles many persons do resort which have no need of the same, It is therefore enacted . . . that no manner of person or persons shall make or cause to be made any such common or open dole, or shall give any ready money in alms,² otherwise than to the common boxes and common gatherings . . . to and for the putting in . . . due execution . . . this present Act; upon pain to leese³ and forfeit ten times the value of all such ready money as shall be given in alms contrary to the tenor and purport of the same; And that every person or persons of this realm, bodies politic, corporate, and others that be bound or charged yearly, monthly, or weekly to give or to distribute any ready money, bread, victual, or other sustentation to poor people in any place within this realm, shall . . . give and distribute the same money or the value of all such bread, victual, or sustentation unto such common boxes, to the intent the same may be employed towards the relieving of the said poor, needy, sick, sore, and indigent persons, and also toward the setting in work of the said sturdy and idle vagabonds and valiant beggars. . . .

¹ This whole paragraph is very reminiscent of the Rouen ordinances. See above, p. 116.

² This, of course, is quite contrary to the Sorbonne judgement, which insisted that indiscriminate almsgiving should be allowed to continue. See above, pp. 33, 77.

³ lose.

INDEX

- Alms-box, 23, 56, 87, 104, 116, 125, 126.
 Almsgiving, voluntary, 4, 25, 56, 70, 77, 81, 98, 106, 108, 115, 120, 124.
 Ashley, Sir William, vii, xvi, 1, 10, 105, 121 n.
 Augsburg, xvi, 81, 82.
 Baden-Baden, 82.
 Badges, for beggars, 34 n, 82, 98, 101, 107.
 Banquets, 4, 24, 26.
 Beggars, able-bodied, xvii, 12, 30, 57, 58, 104, 106, 110, 112, 114, 120.
 Begging, prohibition of, xvii, xix, 8, 12, 50-1, 57, 61, 66, 83, 90, 91, 102, 105, 106, 114, 120, 124.
 Bequests, 11, 22, 87-8, 116, 125.
 Blind, treatment of the, 6, 15, 83.
 Boleyn, Anne, 36.
 Bora, Catherine von, 80.
 Bruges, viii, xi, xv, 3, 4, 6, 23, 25, 34, 35.
 Censorship of character, 4, 19-20, 54, 81, 85, 98, 100, 115.
 Census of poor, 4, 10, 110, 115, 122.
 Charity, obligation of, 5, 9, 40, 41, 111.
 Charles V, 2, 24, 36 n, 51.
 Children, begging by, 83, 102, 114.
 Church, medieval, xvii, 21, 37.
 Clergy, co-operation of, 32, 55, 98, 106, 116, 125.
 Colbert, 105 n.
 Colmar, xix, 82.
 Corn, cheap, ix, 95, 107.
 Disease, infectious, 7-8, 17, 31, 38-9, 69, 78, 83, 126.
 Education, 4, 10, 18, 19, 35, 53, 91-2, 98, 107.
 Education, adult, xi, 3.
 Enclosures, xvi, xx.
 Endowments, ecclesiastical, 21, 23, 24, 77, 80, 86, 97, 98, 103, 106, 120.
 England, legislation in, xv, 36, 105, 120-6.
 Erasmus, 2, 36.
 Fuggers, the, xvi, xviii, 82.
 "Hanse," 108.
 Hospitals, xi, 10, 14, 16, 21, 22, 106, 117.
 Hotel-keepers, 116.
 Idleness, 12, 47, 52, 101.
 Insanity, treatment of, xi, 10, 16.
 Katharine of Aragon, 2, 19 n.
 Labour, forced, 13, 113, 114, 125.
 Leisnig, 80-96, 98.
 Levy, capital, 7.
 Louvain, 35.
 Luther, xi, xii, xv, xviii, xx, 80-96, 98.

- Lyons, viii, 65 n, 105, 109.
- Malingering, 4, 12, 117.
- Magdeburg, 82.
- Major, John, xix, 62.
- Marshall, William, 36, 39.
- Mendicant Orders, 32, 33, 35, 77, 96, 114, 121.
- More, Sir Thomas, 2.
- Nottingham, xix.
- Nuremberg, xix, 81-3.
- Orphans, xi, 93.
- Panel, Dr. G., 105.
- Paris, ix, xix n, 104-5, 109.
- Pilgrims, 98, 102, 114, 117.
- Poor, "impotent," viii, xvii, 83, 92, 106, 110, 115, 116, 120-6.
- Poor, "shamefaced," 10, 11, 93, 99, 111.
- Poor-rate, x, 4, 80, 98, 106, 107, 118-19, 121.
- Prices, high, xviii, xx, 118.
- Prisoners, ransoming of, 26.
- Reformation, the, vii, xviii, 81, 96.
- Regensburg, 82.
- Relief works, 14, 17, 83, 107, 110.
- Rent-charges, 23, 24.
- Revolt, Knights', xvi, xx.
- Revolt, Peasants', xvi, xx.
- Robinson, John, 121.
- Rouen, viii, xv, 13 n, 101 n, 104-19, 126 n.
- Scotland, legislation in, 121 n.
- Shakspeare, 101.
- Sorbonne, the, xi, 33, 36 n, 76-8, 126 n.
- Southampton, xix.
- Spain, 1, 23, 24.
- Starkey, Thomas, 33 n.
- Strangers, 14, 63, 65, 72, 91, 94, 102, 117.
- Strassburg, 82.
- Tanner, Adam, 35.
- Tithes, xviii.
- Valencia, 2, 4.
- van Meyere, 2 n, 33, 78.
- van Praet, 2, 5, 78.
- Villavincenzio, Lorenzo de, 35.
- Vives, viii, xi, xii, xx, 32, 83 n, 105.
- Watson, Dr. Foster, 3.
- Welsers, the, xvi.
- Wolsey, xx, 2.
- Woodward, Professor W. H., 1, 19 n.
- Württemberg, 81.
- Ypres, viii, xi, xv, xx, 8, 32-79, 83 n, 105.
- Zürich, 27 n, 97-103.
- Zwingli, xi, xii, xv, 97-103.

A SELECTION
FROM
MESSRS. METHUEN'S
CATALOGUE
OF
GENERAL LITERATURE

A SELECTION OF MESSRS. METHUEN'S PUBLICATIONS

This Catalogue contains only a selection of the more important books published by Messrs. Methuen. A complete catalogue of their publications may be obtained on application.

PART I. GENERAL LITERATURE

Armstrong (W. W.)

THE ART OF CRICKET. *Crown 8vo.* 3s. net.

Bain (F. W.)

A DIGIT OF THE MOON. THE DESCENT OF THE SUN. A HEIFER OF THE DAWN. IN THE GREAT GOD'S HAIR. A DRAUGHT OF THE BLUE. AN ESSENCE OF THE DUSK. AN INCARNATION OF THE SNOW. A MINE OF FAULTS. THE ASHES OF A GOD. BUBBLES OF THE FOAM. A SYRUP OF THE BEES. THE LIVERY OF EVE. THE SUBSTANCE OF A DREAM. *All Fcap. 8vo.* 5s. net. AN ECHO OF THE SPHERES. *Wide Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net.

Baker (C. H. Collins)

CROME. Illustrated. *Quarto.* £5 5s. net.

Balfour (Sir Graham)

THE LIFE OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. *Twentieth Edition. In one Volume. Cr. 8vo. Buckram,* 7s. 6d. net.

Belloc (Hilaire)

PARIS. THE PYRENEES. *Each 8s. 6d. net.* ON NOTHING. HILLS AND THE SEA. ON SOMETHING. FIRST AND LAST. THIS AND THAT AND THE OTHER. ON. *Each 3s. 6d. net.* ON EVERYTHING. ON ANYTHING. *Each 6s. net.* MARIE ANTOINETTE. 18s. net. A HISTORY OF ENGLAND. In 4 vols. Vol. I, to 1066. 15s. net.

Birmingham (George A.)

A WAYFARER IN HUNGARY. Illustrated. *Crown 8vo.* 8s. 6d. net.

Bowen (Frank C.)

THE KING'S NAVY. Illustrated. *Fcap. 4to.* 7s. 6d. net.

Campbell (Olwen Ward)

SHELLEY AND THE UNROMANTICS. Illustrated. *Second Edition, Revised. Demy 8vo.* 16s. net.

Chandler (Arthur), D.D., late Lord Bishop of Bloemfontein

ARA CÆLI. 5s. net. FAITH AND EXPERI-

ENCE. 5s. net. THE CULT OF THE PASSING MOMENT. 6s. net. THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND REUNION. 5s. net. SCALA MUNDI. 4s. 6d. net.

Chesterton (G. K.)

THE BALLAD OF THE WHITE HORSE. ALL THINGS CONSIDERED. TREMENDOUS TRIFLES. CHARLES DICKENS. *All Fcap.* 8vo. 3s. 6d. net. FANCIES VERSUS FADS. ALARMS AND DISCURSIONS. A MISCELLANY OF MEN. THE USES OF DIVERSITY. *All Fcap.* 8vo. 6s. net. WINE, WATER, AND SONG. *Fcap.* 8vo. 1s. 6d. net.

Childe (C. P.)

CANCER AND THE PUBLIC. *Demy* 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

Clutton-Brock (A.)

WHAT IS THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN? ESSAYS ON ART. SHAKESPEARE'S HAMLET. *Each* 5s. net. ESSAYS ON BOOKS. MORE ESSAYS ON BOOKS. *Each* 6s. net. SHELLEY, THE MAN AND THE POET. 7s. 6d. net.

Cowling (George H.)

A PREFACE TO SHAKESPEARE. Illustrated. *Crown* 8vo. 5s. net.

Dark (Sidney) and Grey (Rowland)

W. S. GILBERT: HIS LIFE AND LETTERS. *Second Edition.* *Demy* 8vo. 15s. net.

Dolls' House (The Queen's)

THE BOOK OF THE QUEEN'S DOLLS' HOUSE. Vol. I, THE HOUSE, Edited by A. C. BENSON, C.V.O., and Sir LAWRENCE WEAVER, K.B.E. Vol. II, THE LIBRARY, Edited by E. V. LUCAS. Profusely Illustrated. A Limited Edition. *Crown* 4to. £6 6s. net.

EVERYBODY'S BOOK OF THE QUEEN'S DOLLS' HOUSE. An abridged edition of the above. Illustrated. *Crown* 4to. 5s. net.

Edwardes (Tickner)

THE LORE OF THE HONEYBEE. *Thirteenth Edition.* *Crown* 8vo. 7s. 6d. net. BEEKEEPING FOR ALL. *Crown* 8vo. 3s. 6d. net. THE BEE-MASTER OF WARRILOW. *Third Edition.* *Crown* 8vo. 7s. 6d. net. All Illustrated.

Einstein (Albert)

RELATIVITY: THE SPECIAL AND GENERAL THEORY. *Crown* 8vo. 5s. net.

SIDELIGHTS ON RELATIVITY. *Crown* 8vo. 3s. 6d. net. THE MEANING OF RELATIVITY. *Crown* 8vo. 5s. net.

Other books on the Einstein Theory
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THEORY OF RELATIVITY. By LYNDON BOLTON. *Crown* 8vo. 5s. net.

THE PRINCIPLE OF RELATIVITY. By A. EINSTEIN, H. A. LORENTZ, H. MINKOWSKI and H. WEYL. With Notes by A. SOMMERFELD. *Demy* 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.

Write for Complete Lists

Evans (Joan)

ENGLISH JEWELLERY. *Royal* 4to. £2 12s. 6d. net.

Fitzgerald (Edward)

THE RUBA'IYAT OF OMAR KHAYYAM. Illustrated by EDMUND J. SULLIVAN. *Wide Crown* 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

Forrest (H. Edward)

THE OLD HOUSES OF STRATFORD-UPON-AVON. Illustrated. *Crown* 8vo. 7s. 6d. net. Also an edition limited to 250 copies, *Fcap.* 4to. 21s. net.

Freundlich (H.)

COLLOID AND CAPILLARY CHEMISTRY. *Royal* 8vo. £1 16s. net.

Fyleman (Rose)

FAIRIES AND CHIMNEYS. THE FAIRY GREEN. THE FAIRY FLUTE. THE RAINBOW CAT. EIGHT LITTLE PLAYS FOR CHILDREN. FORTY GOOD-NIGHT TALES. FAIRIES AND FRIENDS. THE ADVENTURE CLUB. *Each* 3s. 6d. net. A SMALL CRUSE, 4s. 6d. net. THE ROSE FYLEMAN FAIRY BOOK. Illustrated. *Crown* 4to. 10s. 6d. net.

Gibbon (Edward)

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. With Notes, Appendixes, and Maps, by J. B. BURY. Illustrated. Seven volumes. *Demy* 8vo. 15s. net each volume. Also, unillustrated, *Crown* 8vo. 7s. 6d. net each volume.

Glover (T. R.)

THE CONFLICT OF RELIGIONS IN THE EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE. POETS AND PURITANS. FROM PERICLES TO PHILIP. VIRGIL. *Each* 10s. 6d. net.

Gotch (J. A.)

OLD ENGLISH HOUSES. Illustrated. *Demy* 8vo. 16s. net. Also an edition limited to 50 copies, £2 2s. net.

Graham (Harry)

THE WORLD WE LAUGH IN: More Departmental Ditties. Illustrated by "FISH." *Fifth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s. net.*

Grahame (Kenneth)

THE WIND IN THE WILLOWS. *Seventeenth Edition. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.* Also, Illustrated by NANCY BARNHART. *Small 4to. 10s. 6d. net.*

Hadfield (J. A.)

PSYCHOLOGY AND MORALS. *Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s. net.*

Hall (H. R.)

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST. *Sixth Edition, Revised. Demy 8vo. £1 1s. net.*

Hamer (Sir W. H.), and Hutt (C. W.)

A MANUAL OF HYGIENE. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo. £1 5s. net.*

Hind (A. M.)

A CATALOGUE OF REMBRANDT'S ETCHINGS. Two Vols. Profusely Illustrated. *Wide Royal 8vo. £1 15s. net.*

Holdsworth (W. S.)

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LAW. Eight Volumes. *Demy 8vo. £1 5s. net each.*

Hudson (W. H.)

A SHEPHERD'S LIFE. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.* Also, unillustrated, *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Hutton (Edward)

MILAN AND LOMBARDY. THE CITIES OF ROMAGNA AND THE MARCHES. SIENA AND SOUTHERN TUSCANY. VENICE AND VENETIA. THE CITIES OF SPAIN. NAPLES AND SOUTHERN ITALY. Illustrated. *Each, 8s. 6d. net.* A WAY-FARER IN UNKNOWN TUSCANY. THE CITIES OF UMBRIA. COUNTRY WALKS ABOUT FLORENCE. ROME. FLORENCE AND NORTHERN TUSCANY. Illustrated. *Each, 7s. 6d. net.*

Imms (A. D.)

A GENERAL TEXTBOOK OF ENTOMOLOGY. Illustrated. *Royal 8vo. £1 16s. net.*

Inge (W. R.), D.D., Dean of St. Paul's CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM. (The Bampton Lectures of 1899.) *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Jenks (Edward)

AN OUTLINE OF ENGLISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT. *Sixth Edition. Crown 8vo. 5s. net.* A SHORT HISTORY OF ENGLISH LAW. *Third Edition, Revised to 1919. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*

Kipling (Rudyard)

BARRACK-ROOM BALLADS. *233rd Thousand.*

THE SEVEN SEAS. *172nd Thousand.*

THE FIVE NATIONS. *138th Thousand.*

DEPARTMENTAL DITTIES. *111th Thousand.*

THE YEARS BETWEEN. *95th Thousand.* Four Editions of these famous volumes of poems are now published, viz.:—*Crown 8vo. Buckram, 7s. 6d. net. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, 6s. net. Leather, 7s. 6d. net.* Service Edition. Two volumes each book. *Square Fcap. 8vo. 3s. net each volume.*

A KIPLING ANTHOLOGY—Verse. *Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, 6s. net. Leather, 7s. 6d. net.*

TWENTY POEMS FROM RUDYARD KIP- LING. *408th Thousand. Fcap. 8vo. 1s. net.*

A CHOICE OF SONGS. *Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. net.*

Lamb (Charles and Mary)

THE COMPLETE WORKS. Edited by E. V. LUCAS. A New and Revised Edition in Six Volumes. With Frontispieces. *Fcap. 8vo. 6s. net each.* The volumes are: I. MISCELLANEOUS PROSE. II. ELIA AND THE LAST ESSAYS OF ELIA. III. BOOKS FOR CHILDREN. IV. PLAYS AND POEMS. V. and VI. LETTERS.

SELECTED LETTERS. Chosen and Edited by G. T. CLAPTON. *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

A CHARLES LAMB DAY BOOK. Compiled by E. V. LUCAS. *Fcap. 8vo. 6s. net.*

Lankester (Sir Ray)

SCIENCE FROM AN EASY CHAIR. SCIENCE FROM AN EASY CHAIR: Second Series. DIVERSIONS OF A NATURALIST. GREAT AND SMALL THINGS. Illustrated. *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.* SECRETS OF EARTH AND SEA. Illustrated. *Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.*

Lodge (Sir Oliver)

MAN AND THE UNIVERSE (*Twentieth Edition*). THE SURVIVAL OF MAN (*Seventh Edition*). Each Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net. RAYMOND (*Twelfth Edition*). Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net. RAYMOND REVISED. Crown 8vo. 6s. net. RELATIVITY (*Second Edition*). Fcap. 8vo. 1s. net.

Lucas (E. V.)

THE LIFE OF CHARLES LAMB. 2 Vols. £1 1s. net. EDWIN AUSTIN ABBEY, R.A. 2 Vols. £6 6s. net. VERMEER OF DELFT. 10s. 6d. net. A WANDERER IN HOLLAND. A WANDERER IN LONDON. LONDON REVISITED—1925. A WANDERER IN PARIS. A WANDERER IN FLORENCE. A WANDERER IN VENICE. Each 10s. 6d. net. A WANDERER AMONG PICTURES. 8s. 6d. net. THE OPEN ROAD. 6s. net. Also, illustrated. 10s. 6d. net. Also, India Paper. Leather, 7s. 6d. net. THE FRIENDLY TOWN. FIRESIDE AND SUNSHINE. CHARACTER AND COMEDY. Each 6s. net. THE GENTLEST ART. 6s. 6d. net. AND THE SECOND POST. 6s. net. Also, together in one volume 7s. 6d. net. HER INFINITE VARIETY. GOOD COMPANY. ONE DAY AND ANOTHER. OLD LAMPS FOR NEW. LOITERER'S HARVEST. CLOUD AND SILVER. A BOSWELL OF BAGHDAD. "TWIXT EAGLE AND DOVE. THE PHANTOM JOURNAL. GIVING AND RECEIVING. LUCK OF THE YEAR. ENCOUNTERS AND DIVERSIONS. ZIG-ZAGS IN FRANCE. Each 6s. net. SPECIALLY SELECTED. URBANITIES. Each, illustrated by G. L. STAMPA, 7s. 6d. net. YOU KNOW WHAT PEOPLE ARE. Illustrated by GEORGE MORROW. 5s. net. THE SAME STAR: A Comedy in Three Acts. 3s. 6d. net. THE BRITISH SCHOOL. 6s. net. LITTLE BOOKS ON GREAT MASTERS. Each 5s. net. ROVING EAST AND ROVING WEST. 5s. net. INTRODUCING LONDON. 2s. 6d. net. PLAYTIME AND COMPANY. 7s. 6d. net. See also *Dolls' House (The Queen's)*.

Lynd (Robert)

THE BLUE LION. THE PEAL OF BELLS. THE MONEY BOX. Each Fcap. 8vo. 6s. net.

McDougall (William)

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY (*Nineteenth Edition*), 8s. 6d. net. NATIONAL WELFARE AND NATIONAL DECAY. 6s. net. AN OUTLINE OF PSYCHOLOGY. 12s. net. BODY AND

MIND (*Fifth Edition*). 12s. 6d. net. ETHICS AND SOME MODERN WORLD PROBLEMS. 7s. 6d. net.

Maeterlinck (Maurice)

THE BLUE BIRD. 6s. net. Also, illustrated by F. CAYLEY ROBINSON. 10s. 6d. net. MARY MAGDALENE. 5s. net. DEATH. 3s. 6d. net. OUR ETERNITY. 6s. net. THE UNKNOWN GUEST. 6s. net. POEMS. 5s. net. THE WRACK OF THE STORM. 6s. net. THE MIRACLE OF ST. ANTHONY. 3s. 6d. net. THE BURGOMASTER OF STILEMONDE. 5s. net. THE BETROTHAL. 6s. net. MOUNTAIN PATHS. 6s. net. THE STORY OF TYLTYL. £1 1s. net. THE GREAT SECRET. 7s. 6d. net. THE CLOUD THAT LIFTED AND THE POWER OF THE DEAD. 7s. 6d. net.

Masefield (John)

ON THE SPANISH MAIN. 8s. 6d. net. A SAILOR'S GARLAND. 6s. net. SEA LIFE IN NELSON'S TIME. 5s. net.

Methuen (Sir A.)

AN ANTHOLOGY OF MODERN VERSE. 82nd Thousand. SHAKESPEARE TO HARDY: An Anthology of English Lyrics. 15th Thousand. Each Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, 6s. net. Leather, 7s. 6d. net.

Milne (A. A.)

NOT THAT IT MATTERS. IF I MAY. Each 3s. 6d. net. WHEN WE WERE VERY YOUNG. Illustrated by E. H. SHEPARD. Ninth Edition. 7s. 6d. net. Leather, 10s. 6d. net. FOR THE LUNCHEON INTERVAL: CRICKET AND OTHER VERSES. 1s. 6d. net.

Milne (A. A.) and Fraser-Simson (H.)

FOURTEEN SONGS FROM "WHEN WE WERE VERY YOUNG." Words by A. A. Milne. Music by H. Fraser-Simson. Fourth Edition. Royal 4to. 7s. 6d. net. THE KING'S BREAKFAST. Crown 4to. 3s. 6d. net.

Newman (Tom)

HOW TO PLAY BILLIARDS. Illustrated. Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d. net. BILLIARD DO'S AND DON'T'S. 2s. 6d. net.

Oman (Sir Charles)

A HISTORY OF THE ART OF WAR IN THE MIDDLE AGES, A.D. 378-1485. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. 2 Vols. Illustrated. Demy 8vo. £1 16s. net.

Oxenham (John)

BEEES IN AMBER. Small Pott 8vo. 2s. net. ALL'S WELL. THE KING'S HIGHWAY. THE VISION SPLENDID. THE FIERY CROSS. HIGH ALTARS. HEARTS

COURAGEOUS. ALL CLEAR! *Each Small Pott 8vo. Paper, 1s. 3d. net. Cloth, 2s. net.* **WINDS OF THE DAWN.** 2s. net.

Perry (W. J.)

THE ORIGIN OF MAGIC AND RELIGION. THE GROWTH OF CIVILIZATION. *Each 6s. net.* **THE CHILDREN OF THE SUN.** 18s. net.

Petrie (Sir Flinders)

A HISTORY OF EGYPT. In 6 Volumes.

Vol. I. FROM THE 1ST TO THE XVTH DYNASTY. *Eleventh Edition, Revised.* 12s. net.

Vol. II. THE XVIIITH AND XVIIIITH DYNASTIES. *Seventh Edition, Revised.* 9s. net.

Vol. III. XIXTH TO XXXTH DYNASTIES. *Third Edition.* 12s. net.

Vol. IV. EGYPT UNDER THE PTOLEMAIC DYNASTY. J. P. MAHAFFY. *Second Edition.* 9s. net.

Vol. V. EGYPT UNDER ROMAN RULE. J. G. MILNE. *Third Edition, Revised.* 12s. net.

Vol. VI. EGYPT IN THE MIDDLE AGES. STANLEY LANE POOLE. *Fourth Edition.* 10s. net.

Raleigh (Sir Walter)

THE LETTERS OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH. Edited by LADY RALEIGH. Two Vols. *Demy 8vo. £1 10s. net.*

Rice-Oxley (L.)

OXFORD RENOWNED. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo. 18s. net.*

Rutter (Owen)

THE NEW BALTIC STATES AND THEIR FUTURE: AN ACCOUNT OF LITHUANIA, LATVIA AND ESTONIA. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo. 15s. net.*

Smith (Adam)

THE WEALTH OF NATIONS. Edited by EDWIN CANNAN. 2 Vols. *Demy 8vo. £1 5s. net.*

Smith (C. Fox)

SAILOR TOWN DAYS. SEA SONGS AND BALLADS. A BOOK OF FAMOUS SHIPS. SHIP ALLEY. FULL SAIL. *Each, illustrated, 6s. net.* **THE RETURN OF THE "CUTTY SARK."** Illustrated. 3s. 6d. net.

Sommerfeld (Arnold)

ATOMIC STRUCTURE AND SPECTRAL LINES. *Demy 8vo. £1 12s. net.*

Stevens (F. E.)

THE NEW FOREST BEAUTIFUL. Illustrated. *Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.*

Stevenson (R. L.)

THE LETTERS. Edited by Sir SIDNEY COLVIN. 4 Vols. *Fcap. 8vo. Each 6s. net.*

Stratton (F. J. M.)

ASTRONOMICAL PHYSICS. *Demy 8vo. 15s. net.*

Surtees (R. S.)

HANDLEY CROSS. MR. SPONGE'S SPORTING TOUR. ASK MAMMA. MR. FACEY ROMFORD'S HOUNDS. PLAIN OR RINGLETS? HILLINGDON HALL. *Each, illustrated, 7s. 6d. net.* **JORROCKS'S JAUNTS AND JOLLITIES.** HAWBUCK GRANGE. *Each, illustrated, 6s. net.*

Thomson (J. Arthur)

WHAT IS MAN? 6s. 6d. net. **SCIENCE AND RELIGION.** 7s. 6d. net.

Tilden (W. T.)

THE ART OF LAWN TENNIS. SINGLES AND DOUBLES. *Each, illustrated, 6s. net.* **THE COMMON SENSE OF LAWN TENNIS.** Illustrated. 5s. net.

Tileston (Mary W.)

DAILY STRENGTH FOR DAILY NEEDS. 31st Edition. 3s. 6d. net. *India Paper, Leather, 6s. net.*

Underhill (Evelyn)

MYSTICISM (Tenth Edition). 15s. net. **THE LIFE OF THE SPIRIT AND THE LIFE OF TO-DAY (Sixth Edition).** 7s. 6d. net.

Vardon (Harry)

HOW TO PLAY GOLF. Illustrated. 18th Edition. *Crown 8vo. 5s. net.*

Waterhouse (Elizabeth)

A LITTLE BOOK OF LIFE AND DEATH. 22nd Edition. *Small Pott 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

Wilde (Oscar).

THE WORKS. In 16 Vols. *Each* 6s. 6d. *net.*

I. LORD ARTHUR SAVILE'S CRIME AND THE PORTRAIT OF MR. W. H. II. THE DUCHESS OF PADUA. III. POEMS. IV. LADY WINDERMERE'S FAN. V. A WOMAN OF NO IMPORTANCE. VI. AN IDEAL HUSBAND. VII. THE IMPOR-

TANCE OF BEING EARNEST. VIII. A HOUSE OF POMEGRANATES. IX. INTENTIONS. X. DE PROFUNDIS AND PRISON LETTERS. XI. ESSAYS. XII. SALOME, A FLORENTINE TRAGEDY, and LA SAINTE COURTISANE. XIII. A CRITIC IN PALL MALL. XIV. SELECTED PROSE OF OSCAR WILDE. XV. ART AND DECORATION. XVI. FOR LOVE OF THE KING. 5s. *net.*

PART II. A SELECTION OF SERIES

The Antiquary's Books

Each, illustrated, Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
A series of volumes dealing with various branches of English Antiquities, comprehensive and popular, as well as accurate and scholarly.

The Arden Shakespeare

Edited by W. J. CRAIG and R. H. CASE.
Each, wide Demy 8vo. 6s. net.
The Ideal Library Edition, in single plays, each edited with a full Introduction, Textual Notes and a Commentary at the foot of the page. Now complete in 39 Vols.

Classics of Art

Edited by J. H. W. LAING. *Each, profusely illustrated, wide Royal 8vo. 15s. net to £3 3s. net.*
A Library of Art dealing with Great Artists and with branches of Art.

The "Complete" Series

Demy 8vo. Fully illustrated.
AIRMAN. 16s. *net.* AMATEUR BOXER. 10s. 6d. *net.* ATHLETIC TRAINER. 10s. 6d. *net.* BILLIARD PLAYER. 10s. 6d. *net.* COOK. 10s. 6d. *net.* FOXHUNTER. 16s. *net.* GOLFER. 12s. 6d. *net.* HOCKEY PLAYER. 10s. 6d. *net.* HORSEMAN. 15s. *net.* JUJITSUAN (Cr. 8vo.). 5s. *net.* LAWN TENNIS PLAYER. 12s. 6d. *net.* MOTORIST. 10s. 6d. *net.* MOUNTAINEER. 18s. *net.* OARSMAN. 12s. 6d. *net.* PHOTOGRAPHER. 12s. 6d. *net.* RUGBY FOOTBALLER, ON THE NEW ZEALAND SYSTEM. 12s. 6d. *net.* SHOT. 16s. *net.* SWIMMER. 10s. 6d. *net.* YACHTSMAN. 15s. *net.*

The Connoisseur's Library

With numerous Illustrations. Wide Royal 8vo. £1 11s. 6d. net each vol.
ENGLISH COLOURED BOOKS. ETCHINGS. EUROPEAN ENAMELS. FINE BOOKS. GLASS. GOLDSMITHS' AND SILVERSMITHS' WORK. ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS. IVORIES. JEWELLERY. MEZZO-TINTS. MINIATURES. PORCELAIN. SEALS. WOOD SCULPTURE.

The Do's and Dont's Series

Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net each.
This series, although only in its infancy, is already famous. In due course it will comprise clear, crisp, informative volumes on all the activities of life.
Write for full list

The Library of Devotion

Handy editions of the great Devotional books, well edited. *Small Pott 8vo. 3s. net and 3s. 6d. net.*

Little Books on Art

Well Illustrated. *Demy 16mo. Each 5s. net.*

Modern Masterpieces

In sets of six. *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. each volume.*
Pocketable Editions of Works by A. A. MILNE, JOSEPH CONRAD, ARNOLD BENNETT, G. K. CHESTERTON, E. V. LUCAS and HILAIRE BELLOC.

Sport Series

Mostly Illustrated. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. net to 5s. net each.*
Handy books on all branches of sport by experts.

Methuen's Half-Crown Library*Crown 8vo. and Fcap. 8vo.***Methuen's Two Shilling Library***Fcap. 8vo.*

Two series of cheap editions of popular books.

*Write for complete lists***The Westminster Commentaries***Demy 8vo. 8s. 6d. net to 16s. net.*

Edited by W. LOCK, D.D. The object of these commentaries is primarily to interpret the author's meaning to the present generation, taking the English text in the Revised Version as their basis.

THE LITTLE GUIDES*Small Pott 8vo. Illustrated and with Maps**4s. net mostly***THE 62 VOLUMES IN THE SERIES ARE:—**

BEDFORDSHIRE AND HUNTINGDONSHIRE
 BERKSHIRE
 BRITTANY
 BUCKINGHAMSHIRE
 CAMBRIDGE AND COLLEGES
 CAMBRIDGESHIRE
 CATHEDRAL CITIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES 6s. net
 CHANNEL ISLANDS 5s. net
 CHESHIRE 5s. net
 CORNWALL
 CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND 6s. net
 DERBYSHIRE
 DEVON
 DORSET 5s. 6d. net
 DURHAM
 ENGLISH LAKES 6s. net
 ESSEX
 GLOUCESTERSHIRE
 HAMPSHIRE
 HEREFORDSHIRE 4s. 6d. net
 HERTFORDSHIRE
 ISLE OF MAN 6s. net.
 ISLE OF WIGHT
 KENT 5s. net
 KERRY
 LANCASHIRE 6s. net
 LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND 5s. net
 LINCOLNSHIRE 6s. net
 LINCOLN'S INN AND GRAY'S INN 4s. net
 LONDON
 MALVERN COUNTRY

MIDDLESEX
 MONMOUTHSHIRE
 NORFOLK 5s. net.
 NORMANDY 5s. net
 NORTHAMPTONSHIRE
 NORTHUMBERLAND 7s. 6d. net
 NORTH WALES 6s. net
 NOTTINGHAMSHIRE
 OXFORD AND COLLEGES
 OXFORDSHIRE
 ROME 5s. net
 ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL
 SHAKESPEARE'S COUNTRY
 SHROPSHIRE
 SICILY
 SNOWDONIA 6s. net
 SOMERSET
 SOUTH WALES
 STAFFORDSHIRE 5s. net
 SUFFOLK
 SURREY
 SUSSEX
 TEMPLE
 WARWICKSHIRE 5s. net
 WESTMINSTER ABBEY
 WILTSHIRE
 WORCESTERSHIRE 6s. net
 YORKSHIRE EAST RIDING 5s. net
 YORKSHIRE NORTH RIDING
 YORKSHIRE WEST RIDING 7s. 6d. net
 YORK 6s. net

METHUEN & Co. LTD., 36 ESSEX STREET, LONDON, W.C.2.

